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THE SACRED BOOKS AND EARLY LITERATURE OF THE EAST

WITH HISTORICAL SURVEYS OF THE CHIEF
WRITINGS OF EACH NATION

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THE SACRED BOOKS AND EARLY LITERATURE OF THE EAST

VOLUME X INDIA AND BUDDHISM

In Translations by

CHARLES F. ALKEN, S.T.D., Dean of Theology, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.; SIR M. COOMARASWAMY, of the Legislative Council of Ceylon; HERMANN OLDENBERG, Ph.D., Professor of Sanskrit at Heidelberg University; T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, Professor of Pali and Buddhist Literature, University College, London; JAMES LEON, LL.D., former President of the **BUDDHA'S REPOSE** UNIVERSITY; F. MAX MÜLLER, LL.D., former Professor of Comparative Philology at the University of Oxford; and J. W. JACKSON, LL.D., former Professor of Sanskrit at the University of California. *Buddha, during his great struggle to understand all life, is supported against the tusks of the Elephant Bodhisattva.*

With a Brief Bibliography by

PROF. CHARLES F. ALKEN, S.T.D.

With an Historical Survey and Descriptions by

PROF. CHARLES F. HORNE, PH.D.

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REDDING'S RELEASE

Redding, during his great struggle to maintain his life, supported against the law of the United States.

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“*Let there be light.*”—GENESIS I, 3.

“*There never was a false god, nor was there ever really a false religion, unless you call a child a false man.*”—MAX MÜLLER.

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"As the great sea, O disciples, is permeated with but one taste, the taste of salt, so also, O disciples, this doctrine and this law are pervaded with but one taste, the taste of deliverance."

— BUDDHA.

"An evil deed, like newly drawn milk, does not turn suddenly; smoldering, like fire covered by ashes, it follows the fool."

— THE DHAMMAPADA.

SACRED BOOKS AND EARLY LITERATURE OF BUDDHISM

INTRODUCTION

THE MOST WIDE-SPREAD ARYAN TEACHING IN THE WORLD

FOR our Western world the Buddhist faith and the Buddhist literature hold a more living interest than any other of the books or teachings of the Far East. In the first place, Buddhism, both in its doctrines and in its history, bears a striking resemblance to Christianity. Second, Buddhism even to-day has more believers than any other religion in the world; it is the accepted faith of four hundred million people, one-fourth of the population of the earth. Third, it has had a remarkable and romantic career; it has been called the great exiled religion, for, despite the many millions of its supporters, it is practically abandoned in India, the land of its origin. At one time it was accepted by almost all of India's teeming millions; then it was completely trodden under foot, its shrines fell into ruin and were as wholly forgotten as though they had never existed. Even to-day, the few Buddhist devotees found in India are pilgrims who have journeyed there under the shelter of Britain's Christian protection. So while Buddhism has claimed the faith and satisfied the hearts of all the other peoples of the Far East, it has been rejected by the race who first felt its high inspiration.

We touch here on a fourth and perhaps even deeper source of interest in the faith. It is of Aryan origin, the chief religion that has sprung wholly from the Aryan mind and

been spread abroad by Aryan teachers. Almost all the peoples of our Western world to-day are of Aryan stock. Note therefore this striking contrast, which is one of the most impressive oddities of our tangled universe. All the modern European and American Aryans have abandoned their ancient Aryan faith, whether of Odin, of Jupiter, or of older gods, and have accepted Christianity, which is of Semitic origin. Yet scarce a Semite in all the world now holds with us to this Semitic teaching. On the other hand, Buddhism, the richest, broadest, and most lasting of the religions of Aryan origin, has now scarcely an Aryan believer anywhere. It has become the faith of the hundred millions of Turanians, or non-Semitic and non-Aryan races of the East.

Shall we seek a more specific knowledge of this ancient and wide-spread Aryan teaching? It originated about five hundred years before Christ, being taught by an Indian prince named Siddhartha. He was a truly wondrous teacher, whose followers have since worshiped him through all the ages without for one moment confusing him with God or regarding him as anything different from a man, a soul, a spirit like themselves. For this teacher Siddhartha the Buddhists have many names. Most commonly they speak of him by his religious title as Buddha, which means "The Awakened One." That is, he is the sage, the seer, who has shaken off all the benumbing influences of the senses, has escaped the daze and bewilderment of human passions, has pierced the confusing mists of life and thought, and has thus seen and understood the very heart of the universe. From that center of serene and perfect understanding Buddha is supposed to have looked out over all space, and all time, and comprehended every smallest thing within the boundless reach of his perfected vision. But note that in thus becoming Buddha or the Awakened One, Prince Siddhartha did not cease to be a man. Indeed, Buddhism teaches that there had been other "awakenings" before that of Siddhartha, and that there will be other Buddhas yet to come. This might almost be taken as the essence, the central thought, of the Aryan religious teaching. It founds its confidence on man,

is profoundly assertive of human possibilities and power; man is everything; he can achieve everything; he can learn to grasp the universe; he can rise above it. Each feeble, groveling soul among us can himself become Buddha, the all-powerful, the all-knowing.

It has been pointed out by our Western thinkers that in such a system there is very little use for God; there is perhaps no room for him. Hence Buddhism has been frequently accused of being a form of atheism. Its believers deny this; they are willing to accept any number of deities. Only their thought centers not on gods, but on man, on man's progress rising or falling through many transmigrations of body, but always capable of attaining superiority to and thus escape from the "wheel of life." Man, the immaterial spirit, may rise above both the material and the immaterial world, and thereby reach "Nirvana."

What is this Nirvana, this goal toward which man's struggle aims? With our Western fondness for exact wordings, we have insisted on defining it as "nothingness," since in Nirvana the spirit ceases wholly to act or feel, that is to suffer or enjoy, or to think, or even to believe. That is, it absolutely escapes or abandons every human idea or mode of consciousness. Yet you will find no Buddhist philosopher agreeing therefore to view Nirvana as extinction. It is indeed to him the opposite of existence, of being; but may not that opposite be beyond and above existence, rather than beneath? The Buddhist simply does not know the meaning of Nirvana, and does not believe either you or himself capable of phrasing it in human speech.

Was all this the actual teaching of Prince Siddhartha, the Buddha? We do not know; because his words were not written down during his life, and we can not be sure how much of modern Buddhism is a development grown beyond its earliest teacher. What we know of Siddhartha, or rather what the Buddhist books tell us of him, is briefly this. He was a prince of the Gotama race; from which fact he is more commonly called by his tribal name, Gotama. He was surrounded in youth by all the luxury of princehood; but like

the imaginary prince in Dr. Johnson's celebrated tale of Rasselas, so, too, Gotama looked beyond his own pleasures and saw the miseries of humanity. He resolved to devote himself to seeking the cause and the remedy for all this bitter grief and hideous suffering. Fleeing from his life of ease, he spent years in solitude and austerity and deep meditation. Thus at last he freed himself from all human weakness and attained his Buddhahood.

Legend tells that all the evil influences and evil spirits of the world strove to thwart Gotama's final effort to pierce to the very center of all knowledge. His concentration of thought was a mighty battle, which is told with all the metaphors of strife. He won his victory of meditation while seated under a sacred tree, called the bo-tree; and this tree has ever since been an object of worship to the Buddhists. Sprouts sprung from it, or from its descendant bo-trees, are still preserved and honored.

Having attained his Buddhahood, Gotama went forth to save his followers from the heavy "wheel of life," by teaching them his wisdom. Everywhere they listened and accepted. Spirits as well as men hung upon his words rejoicing, and he converted thousands upon thousands. His death came after more than forty years of teaching; and then his followers gathered in a great council to formulate and exactly define what they should continue to announce as Buddha's doctrine.

All of this story depends on later evidence. The Buddhist teaching was handed down only by word of mouth for centuries. Then some two hundred years after Gotama's death there was in India a powerful king or emperor, Asoka (about 267-233 B.C.). Asoka is said to have ruled all India, to have been at first opposed to Buddhism, but to have finally accepted it and facilitated its spread, not by force, but by sending out many teachers, so that all India adopted the faith. Thus Asoka did for Buddhism what the Emperor Constantine did for Christianity—made it the State religion of a vast empire.

With this event, we come upon the earliest literature of

Buddhism. Asoka proclaimed edicts favoring the religion, and he had these edicts carved on rock-faced cliffs or on State pillars set up throughout his domains. Several of these ancient inscriptions with their long-forgotten commands have been recently rediscovered, empty echoes of an imperial power once as absolute as it seemed eternal. Their translation opens our volume.

Even in Asoka's time, however, there seems to have been no Buddhist books. He called another council to determine anew the exact doctrines of the faith; and perhaps all our present Buddhist Scriptures were then agreed on orally. That is, they had been previously known, and the "canon" was now fixed or made unchangeable; no more teachings were to be accepted as sacred. But we have reason to believe that none of these accepted doctrines or books was ever written down until almost two centuries after Asoka.

The first setback to Indian Buddhism occurred about the beginning of the Christian era, when there was a schism, the church separating into the Lesser Vehicle, or conservative faith, and the Greater Vehicle, or newer teaching, which looked beyond the actual words of Gotama. This Greater Vehicle seems to have contained more, or at least emphasized more, of the spiritual side of the religion. So that many Christians have thought that this later Buddhism learned and borrowed much from Christianity. Positive proof of such borrowing is no longer to be had, but the similarity of the two faiths is marked. They narrate several similar incidents; and the doctrines of Buddha parallel those of early Christianity on at least two important points. Buddhism teaches that, to attain a higher state beyond this, man must deliberately and firmly turn away from the pleasures and sensations of this world, and it insists on kindness toward every living thing. A Buddhist monk will not even kill an insect that annoys him, but will gently remove it from his person. This universal kindness differs from the Christian teaching of universal love only by its lack of warmth. Love is too intense a feeling to accompany the Buddhist doctrine of the suppression of human passions.

It was the missionaries of the Greater Vehicle, or more modern Buddhism, who spread their teachings through China in the early centuries of the Christian era. In India the faith declined slowly. For many centuries it existed side by side with Brahmanism. The two faiths both were tolerant, and indeed they had so much in common that a believer might well accept both. But gradually the more sensuous character of Brahmanism drew the mass of the people away from the stern, ascetic Buddhism. Then came the Mohammedan conquest of India, and Mohammedan fanaticism completely crushed the last remnants of the fading Buddhism in its birthland. To-day it still holds some place in the hill countries north of Hindustan, and in Ceylon to the southward. From Ceylon it spread to all Indo-China in about the sixth century A.D., and a little later it spread from China to Japan. It probably spread northward at an even earlier date, from India into Tibet and Turkestan and Mongolia.

Turn now to the Buddhist literature. The Buddhist Scriptures consist of three collections called the Three Baskets, or Ti-pitaka. These were originally, no doubt, written in India; but since the faith perished in India we have been compelled to seek the Ti-pitaka in other lands. The most complete and probably the oldest versions of these Buddhist Scriptures have been found in Ceylon. They are in the Pali tongue, a dialect which was once the common speech of northern India as opposed to the learned Sanskrit in which the Vedas, or holy books of Brahmanism, were composed. Thus it may be that Buddha deliberately chose to proclaim his teaching in the common tongue, to aid the unlearned rather than the learned, to reach the masses rather than the brahmin priests. Versions of several of the Buddhist books, however, exist also in Sanskrit, in Burmese, in Chinese, and in other languages; and our scholars are still studying and comparing the many differing forms of the faith. Among the Ti-pitaka only one section, or Basket, has much interest for the outside world, as the other two are later collections, consisting either of mere priestly rules and ceremonials or of abstract metaphysical speculations. The first Pitaka, on the contrary,

contains a most remarkable mass of historical anecdotes about Buddha and his disciples, their teachings and their parables. These are called the Suttas, or Sacred Sayings. They would cover perhaps as many pages as our Bible, but they are much more diverse in character. Moreover, some of them are held by Buddhists in far higher honor than others, so that it is easy to guide our readers to the more valued ones. We give here what seem to be the oldest Suttas, those which open the very old collection known as the Sutta Nipata. The Nipata has been called the Rig-Veda of the Buddhists, that is, the work in which the formation of their doctrines may be studied. With these we give also the celebrated Sutta which is honored as containing the concentrated essence of the early Buddhist doctrines, and which is known as the Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness.

Our volume then presents the most honored of all the historical Suttas, the Book of the Great Decease. This is, so far as we know, the earliest account of Gotama's life, or rather of his death. Thus it holds, for Buddhism, somewhat the place of our Gospels. No other part of the Buddhist Scriptures is received by its devotees with quite such reverence as this Book of the Great Decease. It unquestionably deserves to be classed among the great books of the world, and no man should assume that he understands Buddhism, or even that he understands Asia, until he has read this gently wise and simple account of the passing of the great sage, of the man who had risen to be almost a god, or at least was believed to hold the power of a god over the things of the world which he was leaving. There are indeed what we would call "miracles" described in the Great Decease, but these are little more than metaphors. They are but the husk, the shell to enclose the kernel of Buddha's teaching.

Later Buddhist writings dwelt, perhaps unfortunately, far more on the miraculous side of Buddha's career. The sage becomes lost in the magician; the love, in the power. In order that the reader may follow the development of the Buddhist faith we give, after the Great Decease, the most celebrated later accounts of Buddha's life. These could not

much change the story of his death — that had been fixed by the Great Decease; but they revel in the marvels of his early life and of his victorious struggle toward Buddhahood. They will show us, too, the development of the new religion outside of India. So we give these opening chapters first from the celebrated Chinese “Life of Buddha” which was translated into Chinese about A.D. 400 from the work of the famous Buddhist missionary Asvaghosha. Then we give the accepted Burmese “life,” which is of still later though uncertain date, and in which the man Gotama has become wholly lost amid the truly Asiatic maze of fantasy. Then follows the brief but very noteworthy song which Buddhist tradition has established as being the old and eternally recurring “birth song” which each Buddha chants in celebration at the moment of his enlightenment.

Any account of Buddhist literature or Buddhist thought would be hopelessly incomplete if it did not also include something of the Jatakas, or birth-tales, to which the next section of our volume is devoted. These are included among the Suttas as being sacred teachings, yet they are really beast-fables. Just such stories had been told in India long before Buddhism arose, yet in the increasingly fantastic spirit of the new faith they were at some time, perhaps even as early as King Asoka’s day, accepted as being holy. They were associated with Buddha through the doctrine of transmigration, and were represented as being tales told by him of his previous “births” in the lower forms of life. Hence they are called “birth-tales.”

Having thus presented the life of Buddha from every side, we turn next to the later doctrines of Buddhism, its finally accepted preaching. This we find at its richest and clearest in the best known of all the later Suttas, the celebrated Dhammapada, which is here given in full. The name comes from *dhamma*, which means “law.” So the book is the Great Law of Buddhism. We then close our volume with some quotations from the other most noted later Suttas.

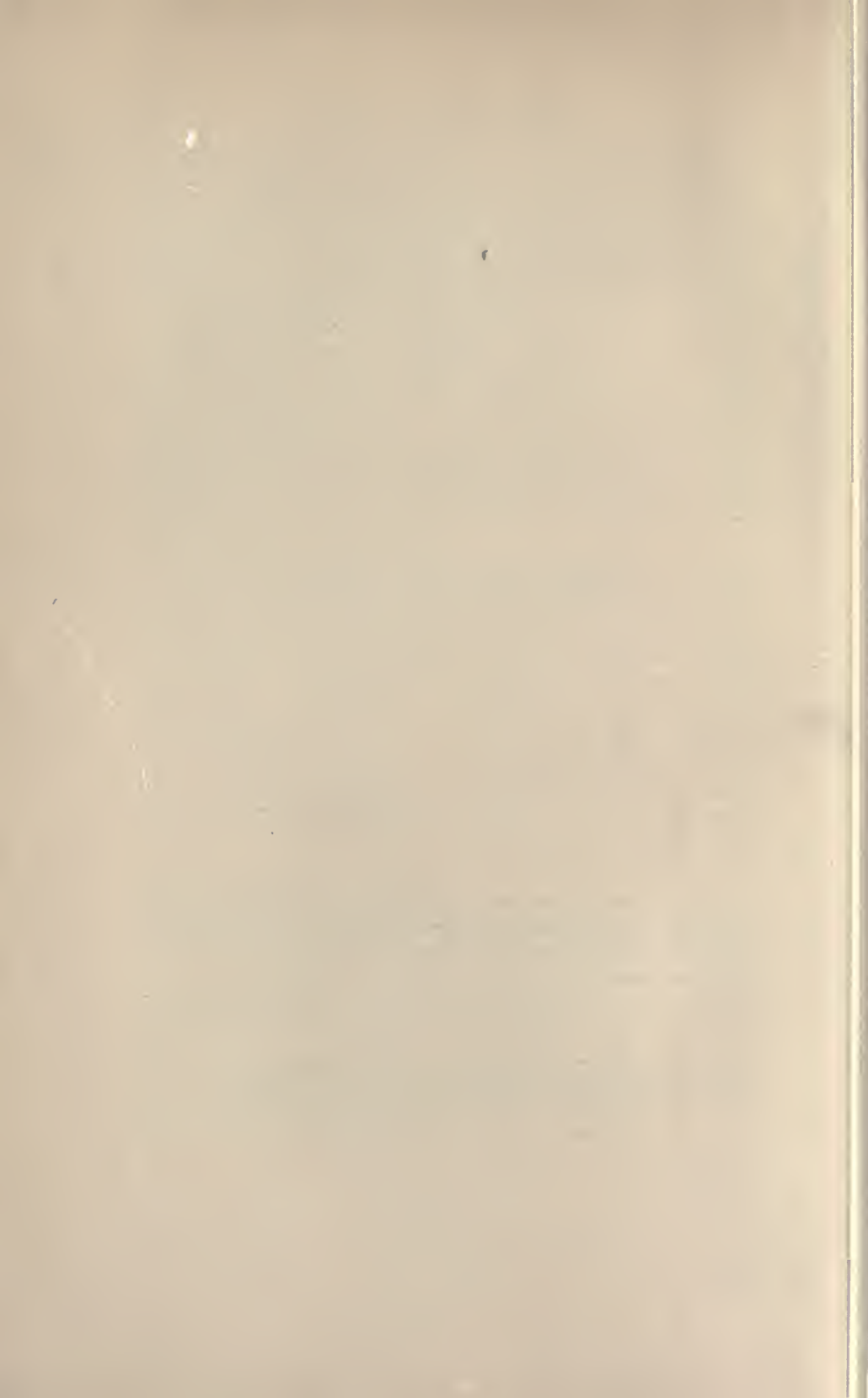
THE EDICTS OF ASOKA

"If a man's fame can be measured by the number of hearts who revere his memory, by the number of lips who have mentioned and still mention him with honor, Asoka is more famous than Charlemagne or Cæsar."

— KOPEN, QUOTED IN RHYS DAVIDS' "BUDDHISM."

"He who holds back rising anger like a rolling chariot, him I call a real driver; other people are but holding the reins."

— BUDDHA IN THE DHAMMAPADA.



THE EDICTS OF ASOKA

(INTRODUCTION)

ONE of the most interesting results of modern research in India has been our recovery of the knowledge of King Asoka's empire. The common Hindu or Brahmanic books ignore him. He is not mentioned by any Greek writers of his date. Yet we can no longer doubt that he not only existed, but was the most powerful sovereign of the third century B.C. He wrested from the Greek successors of the great Alexander their last territories in middle Asia; he extended his empire over Afghanistan and Beloochistan, as well as over almost all of India; and he sent out missionaries who reached even to the Greek cities and, or so Asoka claims, converted many of the Greeks to the Buddhist faith.

Our knowledge of this mighty king's career comes partly from Buddhist books, but mainly from his own carven inscriptions. Over thirty of these have now been found in different parts of his forgotten empire. They tell of his conquests and of his life, but chiefly of his religious efforts, his devotion to Buddhism. After several years of military conquest, Asoka became convinced, about 254 B.C., that he could best extend and consolidate his domains by ruling over the hearts of men. He had already accepted Buddhism for himself, and he now began to make every effort to spread it over the world by peaceful means. He dug wells, he founded monasteries, he sent out thousands of preachers, he set up his religious and moral inscriptions for all to read. In later years, King Asoka seems even to have abandoned his surroundings of imperial splendor, and to have entered on the path of renunciation, meditation, and detachment from human passion, which leads to Buddhist sainthood.

The recovered inscriptions of this ancient royal saint present to us, as was explained in the general introduction,

our earliest surviving texts of Buddhism. Perhaps indeed no Buddhist work had ever been written down before his time. The preachers had depended wholly on oral teaching. King Asoka's inscriptions themselves are so hard to follow that, after offering literal translations of their most celebrated sections, we here give the reader a free poetical rendering of some of the inscriptions by a modern Hindu scholar. These preserve the spirit of the original while giving it in simple form.

Though we have no definite knowledge of the chronological order of these inscriptions, the first here translated is among the early ones, possibly the earliest. It is carved on a small granite rock now preserved at Calcutta and called, from its finding-place, the "Edict of Bhabra." The next, the "Thirteenth Edict of Girnar," is the most famous, in that it announces the extent and purpose of Asoka's religious conquests. It is one of a series of badly defaced inscriptions first found carved on the rock face at Girnar, and since discovered in duplicate on other rocks. The "pillar edicts" are eight in number and have been found on stone columns in several places. The reader should be warned that in these edicts King Asoka never mentions his own name, but speaks of himself as Piyadasi, which means the "benevolent," or as Devanampiya, which means "Dear to the Gods."

THE EDICTS OF ASOKA

THE EDICT OF BHABRA

(TO THE PEOPLE OF MAGADHA)

King Piyadasi greets the clergy of Magadha and wishes them prosperity and health. You know, sirs, with what respect and good-will I regard Buddha, the Law and the Clergy. All that has been said by the Blessed Buddha has been well said, and as far, sirs, as my own will goes, I desire that this religious law may long abide. Here, sirs, for example, are religious works: The Teaching of the Discipline,¹ The Supernatural Powers of the Aryas, The Perils of the Future, The Verses on the Hermit, The Questions of Upatishya, The Sutta on Perfection, and The Homily on Lying, pronounced by the Blessed Buddha before Rahula. These religious works I would have the frequent object of rehearsal and meditation for communities of monks and nuns, and for the devout laity of both sexes as well. It is for this reason, sirs, that I make this inscription, that you may know my will.

¹ We have little certainty as to whether these names represent Suttas we still know or others that are lost.

THE EDICTS OF GIRNAR

(THE THIRTEENTH EDICT)

And, moreover, within the domains of Antiochus the Greek King, of which Antiochus' generals are the rulers, everywhere Piyadasi's double system of medical aid is established, both medical aid for men and medical aid for animals, together with medicaments of all sorts, which are suitable for men and suitable for animals.

In truth, the King, dear to the gods, has at heart security for all creatures, respect for life, peace, and happiness. These are the things that the King, dear to the gods, takes to be the conquests of religion. It is in these religious conquests that the King, dear to the gods, finds delight both in his own empire and over all the borderlands for the distance of many hundred *yojanas*. Among these neighbors are Antiochus, the King of Yavanas, and beyond this same Antiochus four kings, Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas, and Alexander; in the South, the Cholas, Pandyas as far as Ceylon, and so, too, the King of the Huns, Vismavasi. Among the Yavanas and Kambojas, the Nabhakas and Nabhapantis, the Bhojas and Petenikas, the Andhras and Pulindas, everywhere the religious instructions of the King, dear to the gods, are observed. Wherever the embassies of the King, dear to the gods, have been sent, there, too, the duties of religion having been made known in the name of the King, dear to the gods, men now give heed and will give heed to the religious instructions, to religion, this bulwark against . . . In this manner has the conquest been extended everywhere. I have found therein a heartfelt joy. Such is the satisfaction that comes of religious conquests.

ASOKA'S MESSAGE TO HIS PEOPLE

(FROM THE EIGHTH PILLAR EDICT)

1.

Thus speaks royal Piyadasi,¹
 Of the gods beloved,
 To his many subject nations,
 Peoples he has loved:
 I have carved on rocks and pillars
 Rules my men obey,
 And my Dhamma-mahamatras²
 Point to them the way.

2.

Royal highways in my empire
 Are by mangoes shaded,
 Wells and inns refresh and cheer
 The thirsty and the jaded.
 But a mission greater, holier —
 To refresh the soul!
 To relieve the thirsty heart,
 And comfort bring to all!

3.

Amongst my men of every sect,
 Amongst the brahmins holy,
 Amongst all sects of mendicants,
 Amongst Nirgranthas³ lowly,

¹ Translated by Romesh Dutt.² Officers employed to teach religion and moral precepts to the people.³ The learned brahmins were generally orthodox Hindus who kept aloof from Buddhism, the religion of the people. The Nirgranthas were a sect of Jainas who went about unclad, and renounced all worldly things.

My Mahamatras ever work
 For holy righteousness,
 They work to show the pious way,
 To show the path of peace!

4.

Would'st thou know that pious way,
 That righteous path of peace —
 It is the way that leads to joy,
 To joy and holy bliss!
 Religion! —'tis another name
 For Truth and Charity,
 Religious rite and sacrifice
 Is Kindness, Purity!

5.

Some would spread religious faith
 By strong compulsive laws —
 Gentle lessons and persuasion
 Be still Asoka's ways!
 I value inward inspiration —
 Awakening of the heart —
 Not a formal blind compliance
 With rules that we impart.

6.

With this view this righteous edict
 This year ⁴ I promulgate,
 May it teach my sons and grandsons
 And my people great!
 May it unto after ages
 Like sun and moon endure,
 May it in this life, and after.
 Righteous bliss secure!

⁴ The year is mentioned in the text, being twenty-seven years after Asoka's coronation. The date of the edict is therefore about 240 B.C.

A MESSAGE TO FOREIGN NATIONS
(FROM THE THIRTEENTH EDICT OF GIRNAR)

1.

Far, far extend Kalinga's plains,
And Bengal's fertile coast;
Asoka, of the gods beloved,
There sent his conquering host.
They slaved a hundred thousand men,
A hundred thousand died —
“And is this what a conquest means?”
The pious monarch cried!

2.

“Brahmins pure and Sramans good,
And men who toil in life;
Parents to their children dear,
Fond husband, weeping wife —
These I've killed, enslaved, and sold,
And bade the helpless die!”
A throb was on the monarch's brow,
A tear was in his eye!

3.

Repentance wrung his royal breast,
And he was meek and lowly;
And virtuous wishes filled his soul,
And aspirations holy.
He thought of Sakya, noble Teacher,
Buddha, high of birth,
Who left his throne and toiled for men,
And spread good-will on earth!

4.

“Ho! other conquests I will spread,
 And other trophies win”—
 The pious monarch thus he cried—
 “I’ll conquer crime and sin!
 Unto the frontiers of my realm,
 And far beyond, proclaim,
 Asoka fights in faith alone,
 And wins the righteous fame!

5.

“To Antiochus, Syria’s lord,
 To Egypt’s Ptolemy,
 To Antigonus, mighty King
 Of Macedon the free,
 To Magas of Cyrene fair,
 To Alexander, King
 Of mountain-covered Epiros⁵—
 The joyful tidings bring!

6.

“To far Kaveri’s fertile banks,
 Where mighty Cholas live,
 To Kumarika’s distant point,
 Where Pandya clans still thrive,
 To Tamraparni’s verdant isle,
 For pearls well known to fame,
 To Henaraja Vismavasi⁶
 The joyful news proclaim!

⁵ These kings of Syria, Egypt, Macedon, Cyrene, and Epiros were contemporaries of Asoka; and Asoka sent missionaries to proclaim Buddhism in their countries. The Essenes of Syria and the Therapeuts of Egypt were the results of these missions.

⁶ The Cholas, Cheras, and Pandyas were the greatest powers in India south of the Krishna river in the olden times. Kumarika is Cape Comorin, and Tamraparni is Ceylon. Henaraja Vismavasi was in Southern India.

7.

“To our friends the Bactrian Greeks,
And to the bold Kambojas,
To Nabhakas and Nabhapantis,
And to the sturdy Bhojas,
To Petenikas in the south,
To Andhras in Deccan,
To far Pulindas tell the news —⁷
Tell it to every man!”

8.

Far and wide the news they told,
And Buddha's faith proclaimed;
Strange nations Buddha's precepts learned,
His holy name they named.
Asoka felt a joy intense,
His life's great work was done,
For he had won the righteous fame,
And fought in faith alone!

— ROMESH DUTT.

⁷ This and the previous stanza throw light on the geography of India in the third century B.C. The Bactrian Greeks and the Kambojas of Kabul lived on the western frontier. The Nabhakas and Nabhapantis lived in Central India, and the Bhojas in Malwa. The Petenikas had their capital, Pratisthana, on the Godavari river. The Andhras were the mightiest race in the Deccan, and the Pulindas also lived in Southern India.

THE EARLIEST SUTTAS, OR TEACHINGS

THE FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF
RIGHTEOUSNESS

"Let a man walk alone, like a rhinoceros."

—THE RHINOCEROS SUTTA.

"The gods in the highest heaven of heavens gave forth the shout . . . 'The supreme wheel of the empire of Truth has been set rolling by the Blessed One — that wheel which not by any one in the universe can ever be turned back.'"

—THE KINGDOM OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.

THE EARLIEST SUTTAS

(INTRODUCTION)

AMONG the many Buddhist Suttas, or little books of sacred teaching, which have come down to us, our scholars feel quite positive that the oldest writings are those of the Sutta Nipata. Not only are its texts in a very early form of the Pali tongue, but they present a very simple form of the Buddhist doctrine. If we read these first and then follow through to the later Suttas, which close the present volume, we can clearly see the gradual growth of ideas, the elaboration and changing of the Buddhist faith.

The opening Suttas of the Nipata are especially simple. Each one takes a single doctrine and repeats it in a series of simple aphorisms or separate sentences, each concluding with the same half-chanted refrain. Thus the "Snake Sutta," the first in the series, is so named because it preaches that we must learn to cast off human existence as a thing outgrown, just as a snake casts off his skin; and this snake metaphor closes every sentence.

When we turn from these chanted Suttas to the famous Sutta called "The Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness," we are on other ground. While the phrasing of this is less simple than that of the Nipata Suttas, its age is undeniable. It is regarded by Buddhists themselves as preserving the earliest teaching of their faith, the first sermon preached by Prince Siddhartha when he became Buddha or "Awakened." It is the concentrated teaching of the doctrines wherewith Buddhism began. Professor T. Rhys Davids says of it: "It would be difficult to estimate too highly the historical value of this Sutta. There can be no reasonable doubt that the very ancient tradition accepted by all Buddhists as to the substance of the discourse is correct,

and that we really have in it a summary of the words in which the great Indian thinker and reformer, for the first time, successfully promulgated his new ideas. And it presents to us in a few short and pithy sentences the very essence of that remarkable system which has had so profound an influence on the religious history of so large a portion of the human race."

This first proclaiming by Buddha of his newly discovered Law is regarded by his disciples as the turning-point in their faith. It has often been compared to the day of Pentecost, the "inspiration of the tongues" of the Apostles in the Christian faith. Buddhist literature is full of descriptions of this scene of "the first teaching." Miraculous happenings have been attached to it. As one writer describes the scene: "The angels thronged to hear the discourse until the heavens were empty; and the sound of their approach was like the rain of a storm; all the worlds in which there are sentient beings were made void of life, so that the congregation assembled were in number infinite, but at the sound of the blast of the glorious trumpet of Sakka, the king of the gods, they became still as a waveless sea. And then each of the countless listeners thought that the sage was looking toward himself, and was speaking to him in his own tongue, though the language used was Magadhi!"

Professor Davids thus sums up a scholarly view of the importance of this event: "Never in the history of the world had a scheme of salvation been put forth so simple in its nature, so free from any superhuman agency, so independent of, so even antagonistic to the belief in a soul, the belief in God, and the hope for a future life. And we must not allow our estimate of the importance of the event to be influenced by our disagreement from the opinions put forth. Whether these be right or wrong, it was a turning-point in the religious history of man, when a reformer, full of the most earnest moral purpose, and trained in all the intellectual culture of his time, put forth deliberately, and with a knowledge of the opposing views, the doctrine of a salvation to be found here, in this life, in an inward change of heart, to be brought

about by perseverance in a mere system of self-culture and of self-control."

This tiny "book" is so treasured by Buddhists that the copy from which this present translation was made is composed of plates of silver, each letter being carefully carved in the plate. Moreover, every sentence is carved twice with some change in arranging the words, so that no word may be accidentally altered or misunderstood. This remarkable silver book is in the British Museum. Its contents may well serve as a lesson for all the world.

THE EARLIEST SUTTAS

THE URAGA OR SNAKE SUTTA ¹

1.

The priest, who, restraining rising anger, as the snake poison spreading in the body is restrained by medicines, gives up Orapara,² as a snake casts off its decayed, old skin.

2.

The priest, who cuts off lust entirely, as one descending into a tank would cut off a lotus-flower, gives up Orapara, as a snake casts off its decayed, old skin.

3.

The priest, who, withering it up, cuts off completely desire, which roams everywhere and moves quickly, gives up Orapara, as a snake casts off its decayed, old skin.

4.

The priest, who destroys pride altogether, as a mighty flood carries away a very weak bridge of reeds, gives up Orapara, as a snake casts off its decayed, old skin.

5.

The priest, who, like one who seeks for flowers on fig-trees, and who likewise has gone past merit and demerit, gives up Orapara, as a snake casts off its decayed, old skin.

6.

The priest, in whose heart there are no feelings of anger, and who likewise has gone past merit and demerit, gives up Orapara, as a snake casts off its decayed, old skin.

¹ These earliest Suttas are from the translations of Sir M. Coomara Swamy.

² His liability to repeated births.

7.

The priest, whose thoughts are destroyed and within whom all sinful tendencies are entirely cut off, gives up Orapara, as a snake casts off its decayed, old skin.

8.

The priest, who does not look back to the past or forward to the future, and who has gone beyond all this Papancha,³ gives up Orapara, as a snake casts off its decayed, old skin.

9.

The priest, who does not look back to the past or look forward to the future, having known that all this world is false, gives up Orapara, as a snake casts off its decayed, old skin.

10.

The priest, who does not look back to the past or forward to the future, being freed from covetousness, and believing that all this is false, gives up Orapara, as a snake casts off its decayed, old skin.

11.

The priest, who does not look back to the past or forward to the future, being freed from lust, and believing that all this is false, gives up Orapara, as a snake casts off its decayed, old skin.

12.

The priest, who does not look back to the past or forward to the future, being freed from hatred, and believing that all this is false, gives up Orapara, as a snake casts off its decayed, old skin.

13.

The priest, who does not look back to the past or forward to the future, being freed from ignorance, and believing that all this is false, gives up Orapara, as a snake casts off its decayed, old skin.

³ World of delusion.

14.

The priest, to whom there are no desires whatsoever, and whose roots of sin are pulled out, gives up Orapara,³ as a snake casts off its decayed, old skin.

15.

The priest, to whom there are no passions whatsoever which spring from the heat of the body, and are the causes for our coming to this side,⁴ gives up Orapara, as a snake casts off its decayed, old skin.

16.

The priest, in whom there are no passions whatever, which are the causes of our being bound in existence, gives up Orapara, as a snake casts off its decayed, old skin.

17.

The priest, who having abandoned the five Nivaranas,⁵ is freed from grief, has crossed his doubts and is released from the darts of sorrow, gives up Orapara, as a snake casts off its decayed, old skin.

⁴ For our being born.

⁵ Evil inclinations.

DHANIYA SUTTA *

1.

I have finished my meal; I have collected the milk; I am living peaceably on the banks of the Mahi, surrounded by my wife and children; my house is roofed, the fire is kindled. Rain on now, O cloud! if you will. Thus said the cowherd Dhaniya.

2.

I am free from anger, free from stubbornness; I am living for a night on the banks of the Mahi; my house is roofless, the fire is extinguished. Rain on now, O cloud! if you will. Thus said Bhagava.

3.

There are no mosquitoes; the cattle are roaming on the ground covered with rich grass; the cattle are able to endure the coming rain. Rain on now, O cloud! if you will. Thus said the cowherd, Dhaniya.

4.

My raft is bound together, and well made; having crossed the flood of existence and swum through it, I have arrived at the other shore; there is no further use for the raft. Rain on now, O cloud! if you will. Thus said Bhagava.

5.

My wife is obedient, not wanton, has lived long with me

* When Buddha was living at Jetavana, in Savatthi, the cowherd, Dhaniya, dwelt in the hilly country of Videha, owning no less than thirty thousand head of cattle. One night after his day's work was finished, and his cattle had been placed under shelter, it began to rain heavily. As he lay down after his dinner, he, through inordinate joy, began to sing stanzas. Buddha heard them at Jetavana, and, wishing to lead him and his family to the road to Nirvana, appeared instantly in the skies, and answered each of Dhaniya's stanzas by one of his own.

and is agreeable; I hear of no sin attributed to her. Rain on now, O cloud! if you will. Thus said the cowherd, Dhaniya.

6.

My mind is free from passions, is released from worldly attachments, has long been under training, is under thorough control; there is no sin whatever in me. Rain on now, O cloud! if you will. Thus said Bhagava.

7.

I am maintained by my own wealth, and my children are living with me free from disease; I do not hear of any sin attributed to them. Rain on now, O cloud! if you will. Thus said the cowherd, Dhaniya.

8.

I am not a servant of any; independent, I move in all worlds; there is no advantage in serving others. Rain on now, O cloud! if you will. Thus said Bhagava.

9.

There are to me young cows, calves, cows big with young, and young cows full of vigor, and bulls, lords of the herd. Rain on now, O cloud! if you will. Thus said the cowherd, Dhaniya.

10.

To me there are no young cows, no calves, no cows big with young, no young cows full of vigor, no bulls, lords of the herd. Rain on now, O cloud! if you will. Thus said Bhagava.

11.

The stakes are driven in, they can not be shaken; there are chains made of grass, new and twisted, which likewise the calves can not break. Rain on now, O cloud! if you will. Thus said the cowherd, Dhaniya.

12.

Like an ox which has broken its bindings, like an elephant

which has broken the *galucchi* creeper, even so I shall not return again to a mother's womb. Rain on now, O cloud! if you will. Thus said Bhagava.

13.

[By the compiler.] The great cloud rained much, filling at the same time hollows and levels; hearing the raining of the cloud, Dhaniya said thus:

14.

Whoever of us sees Bhagava, his advantage is indeed not small. Let us seek refuge in him. O Five-eyed One! O great sage! be thou a teacher to us. Thus said Dhaniya.

15.

Let my wife the shepherdess and myself become obedient, practise a holy life in honor of Sugata (Buddha): let us, putting an end to our sorrow, become such as have gone past births and deaths.

16.

He who has children is pleased with the children. He who has cattle is likewise pleased with the cattle. The happiness of man consists in objects of desire. He who is without objects of desire is indeed not happy. Thus said the sinful Mara (the Tempter).

17.

He who has children grieves on account of the children. He who has cattle grieves likewise on account of the cattle. He who has no objects of desire does not indeed grieve. Thus said Bhagava.

KHAGGAVISANA SUTTA ⁷

1.

Having abandoned the practising of violence toward all objects, not doing violence to any one of them, let one wish not for children. Why wish for a friend? Let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

2.

There are friendships to one who lives in society; this our present grief arises from having friendships; observing the evils resulting from friendship, let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

3.

He who is kind toward much-beloved friends loses his own good from his mind becoming partial; observing such danger in friendship, let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

4.

As a spreading bush of bamboo is entangled in various ways, so is the longing for children and wives: not clinging to these, even like a bamboo just sprouting forth, let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

5.

As a beast of the forest prowls, free, whithersoever he will for pasture, even so let a wise man, observing solitude, walk alone like a rhinoceros.

⁷ This discourse was delivered by Gotama Buddha, at the request of Ananda, a priest, who, though he was acquainted with the deeds and doctrines of the Supreme Buddhas, had not yet heard of the preachings of Pachaheka, or inferior Buddhas. Gotama here repeats what was taught by Buddhas of the latter category at various times. As in Uraga, so also in this, the metaphor repeated in each stanza gives the title to the whole. *Khaggavisana* means "rhinoceros."

6.

Whilst resting, standing, going, traveling, leave must be obtained by one living in the midst of friends; let one, observing solitude which is not pleasing to others, walk alone like a rhinoceros.

7.

If one lives in the midst of company, love of amusement and desire arise; strong attachment for children arises; let therefore one who dislikes separation, which must happen sooner or later from those beloved, walk alone like a rhinoceros.

8.

Whoever is possessed of the four Appamannas,⁸ and is not opposed to any person, is contented with whatever he gets, endures sufferings and is fearless, let him walk alone like a rhinoceros.

9.

Some there are, also difficult to please, even though they be ascetics; on the other hand, there are also some laymen difficult to propitiate; therefore let one, not minding other men's children, walk alone like a rhinoceros.

10.

Let a hero abandoning the ways of the world, and also flinging off the bonds of the household, like a Kovilara-tree, which has cast off its leaves, walk alone like a rhinoceros.

11.

If a wise man secures a wise friend who will act in concert with him, being firmly established in good principles, he will live happily with him, overcoming all afflictions.

12.

If a wise man secures not a wise friend who will act in concert with him, being firmly established in good principles, let

⁸ Friendliness, compassion, good-will, and equanimity.

him, like a king who has abandoned the country conquered by him, walk alone like a rhinoceros.

13.

Certainly we praise the acquisition of friendship; but good friends should be admitted into one's company; not obtaining such friends, let one, subsisting on pure food, walk alone like a rhinoceros.

14.

Noticing how even two glittering armlets of gold, though well made by a goldsmith, strike against each other, let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

15.

Thus, being with a second beside myself, I must either speak too much and be angry with him; observing this danger, for the future, let a man walk alone like a rhinoceros.

16.

Desires are indeed various, sweet and pleasing to the mind; they churn the mind in different ways; observing the distress resulting from desires, let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

17.

This body is a calamity, an excrescence, a danger, a disease, a dart of sorrow, a fear to me; observing this danger resulting from desires, let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

18.

There are cold, heat, hunger, thirst, wind, sun, gadflies, snakes; having overcome all these various things, let a man walk alone like a rhinoceros.

19.

As the huge-bodied, white-spotted, noble elephant wanders in the forest, whithersoever he will, deserting his herd, so also let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

20.

The attaining of even temporary Samadhi (meditation) by any one who is attached to society is impossible; such is the teaching of the kinsman of the Sun; let one, having heard this, walk alone like a rhinoceros.

21.

Thus overcoming those things which injure faith, having attained firmness of mind, and reached the right path, I have indeed arrived at complete knowledge and have nothing left to be known. Let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

22.

Divested of greediness, deceit, longings, not disparaging others unjustly, in the whole world; released from evil affections and ignorance; desireless, let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

23.

Let one cast away a sinful friend who looks to wicked things, or is established in wicked actions: let the same person associate not with one fond of pleasure, and procrastinating in doing good things. Let him walk alone like a rhinoceros.

24.

Let him serve a friend who is very learned, versed in morals, great, and possessed of a quick understanding; having known the real meaning of things, let him remove his doubts and walk alone like a rhinoceros.

25.

Indifferent to amusements, lust, and the pleasures of the world; not beautifying oneself, despising ornaments, and speaking the truth, let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

26.

Having abandoned the different kinds of desire, founded on child, wife, father, mother, wealth, corn, relations, let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

27.

Let a wise man, having discovered that such is attachment, that there is in it but little happiness, that it is but insipid, that there is more affliction in it than comfort, that it is a fish-hook, walk alone like a rhinoceros.

28.

Having cast off the bonds, like a fish which breaks the net in the water, like a fire that returns not to the spot already burned up, let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

29.

With his eyes looking downward, not moving quickly, with his senses guarded, his mind restrained, not burdened with lust, not burning with desire, let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

30.

Having abandoned the ways of the householder, clothed in yellow robes, like a Parichhatta-tree, which is densely covered with leaves, having given up laymanship, let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

31.

Not being greedy of savory things, not being unsteady, nor maintained by others, begging from house to house without any distinction, not having a mind attached to this or that family, let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

32.

Having cast off the five Nivaranas (evil tendencies) of the mind, having cleared away all the obscurities of the mind, having extinguished the folly of friendship, not allied to anything, let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

33.

Having thrown behind him pleasure and pain, and first doing away with good and bad intentions, having then secured

the middle state, which is pacific and pure, let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

34.

Possessed of courage, persevering in the attainment of Paramattha^o with a mind not inactive, without living in idleness, resolute in perseverance, endowed with a strong and powerful mind, let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

35.

Not abandoning the Patisallana meditations, practising the Law daily, remembering the evil consequences of repeated births, let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

36.

Looking forward to the extinction of desires, being diligent, not foolish, becoming a good ascetic, endowed with presence of mind, acquainted with justice, observing the rules of the hermits, energetic, let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

37.

Like a lion which fears not noises, unobstructed like the wind whistling through a net, not touching anything like the lotus-leaf untouched by water, let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

38.

As the lion, the king of beasts, powerful from his teeth, lives committing violence and overcoming all, even so let one dwell in hermitages in far-away deserts.

39.

In fit time, observe kindness, impartiality, mercy, freedom from sin, and delight at the prosperity of others: unopposed to the whole world, let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

^o The supreme good.

40.

Having abandoned lust, malice, ignorance, having broken the bonds of transmigration, entertaining no fears for the loss of life, let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

41.

Men associate with and serve others for the sake of an object; friends who have no object in view are difficult to obtain. They are wise enough to gain some object for themselves. Men are not pure. Let one walk alone like a rhinoceros.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF RIGHTEOUSNESS¹

OR DHAMMA-KAKKA-PPAVATTANA SUTTA

Reverence to the Blessed One, the Holy One, the Fully Enlightened One.

1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once staying at Benares, at the hermitage called Migadaya. And there the Blessed One addressed the company of the five bhikkus,² and said:

2. "There are two extremes, O bhikkus, which the man who has given up the world³ ought not to follow—the habitual practise, on the one hand, of those things whose attraction depends upon the passions and especially of sensuality—a low and pagan⁴ way of seeking satisfaction unworthy, unprofitable, and fit only for the worldly minded—and the habitual practise, on the other hand, of asceticism (or self-mortification), which is painful, unworthy, and unprofitable.

3. "There is a middle path, O bhikkus, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathagata⁵—a path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of

¹ Translated by T. W. Rhys Davids.

² These are the five mendicants who had waited on the Buddha during his austerities.

³ *Pabbagito*, one who has gone forth, who has renounced worldly things, a "religious."

⁴ *Gamma*, a word of the same derivation as, and corresponding meaning to, our word "pagan."

⁵ The Tathagata is an epithet of a Buddha. It is interpreted to mean that he came to earth for the same purposes, after having passed through the same training in former births, as all the supposed former Buddhas; and that, when he had so come, all his actions corresponded with theirs.

mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvana!

4. "What is that middle path, O bhikkus, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathagata — that path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvana? Verily! it is this noble eightfold path; that is to say:

“Right views;
Right aspirations;
Right speech;
Right conduct;
Right livelihood;
Right effort;
Right mindfulness; and
Right contemplation.”⁶

⁶ Professor Davids thus expands the meaning of this Buddhist teaching of how mankind should live, the “Noble Path”:

1. Right Views; free from superstition or delusion.
2. Right Aims; high, and worthy of the intelligent, earnest man.
3. Right Speech; kindly, open, truthful.
4. Right Conduct; peaceful, honest, pure.
5. Right Livelihood; bringing hurt or danger to no living thing.
6. Right Effort; in self-training, and in self-control.
7. Right Mindfulness; the active, watchful mind.
8. Right Contemplation; earnest thought on the deep mysteries of life.

It is interesting to notice that Gogerly, who first rendered the word “right” throughout by “correct,” afterward adopted the other method; and as these eight divisions of the perfect life are of such vital importance for a correct understanding of what Buddhism really was, I here add in parallel columns his two versions of the terms used:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Correct views (of truth). | Correct doctrines. |
| 2. Correct thoughts. | A clear perception (of their nature). |
| 3. Correct words. | Inflexible veracity. |
| 4. Correct conduct. | Purity of conduct. |
| 5. Correct (mode of obtaining a) livelihood. | A sinless occupation. |
| 6. Correct efforts. | Perseverance in duty. |
| 7. Correct meditation. | Holy meditation. |
| 8. Correct tranquillity. | Mental tranquillity. |

"This, O bhikkus, is that middle path, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathagata — that path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvana!

5. "Now⁷ this, O bhikkus, is the noble truth concerning suffering.

"Birth is attended with pain, decay is painful, disease is painful, death is painful. Union with the unpleasant is painful, painful is separation from the pleasant; and any craving that is unsatisfied, that too is painful. In brief, the five aggregates which spring from attachment (the conditions of individuality and their cause)⁸ are painful.

"This then, O bhikkus, is the noble truth concerning suffering.

6. "Now this, O bhikkus, is the noble truth concerning the origin of suffering.

"Verily, it is that thirst (or craving), causing the renewal of existence, accompanied by sensual delight, seeking satisfaction now here, now there — that is to say, the craving for the gratification of the passions, or the craving for a future life, or the craving for success in this present life.⁹

The varying expressions in these two lists are intended in all cases (except perhaps the second) to convey the same idea. The second division (*samma-sankappo*) is not really open to any doubt. *Sankappo* is will, volition, determination, desire; that exertion of the will in the various affairs of life which results from the feeling that a certain result will be desirable."

⁷ On the following "four truths" compare the Dhammapada, verse 191.

⁸ One might express the central thought of this First Noble Truth in the language of the nineteenth century by saying that pain results from existence as an individual. It is the struggle to maintain one's individuality which produces pain — a most pregnant and far-reaching suggestion.

⁹ "The lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life" correspond very exactly to the first and third of these three *tanhas*. "The lust of the flesh, the lust of life, and the pride of life," or "the lust of the flesh, the lust of life, and the love of this present world," would be not inadequate renderings of all three.

" This then, O bhikkus, is the noble truth concerning the origin of suffering.

7. " Now this, O bhikkus, is the noble truth concerning the destruction of suffering.

" Verily, it is the destruction, in which no passion remains, of this very thirst; the laying aside of, the getting rid of, the being free from, the harboring no longer of this thirst.

" This then, O bhikkus, is the noble truth concerning the destruction of suffering.

8. " Now this, O bhikkus, is the noble truth concerning the way which leads to the destruction of sorrow. Verily! it is this noble eightfold path; that is to say:

" Right views;
Right aspirations;
Right speech;
Right conduct;
Right livelihood;
Right effort;
Right mindfulness; and
Right contemplation.

" This then, O bhikkus, is the noble truth concerning the destruction of sorrow.

9. " That this was the noble truth concerning sorrow, was not, O bhikkus, among the doctrines handed down, but there arose within me the eye to perceive it, there arose the knowledge of its nature, there arose the understanding of its cause, there arose the wisdom to guide in the path of tranquillity, there arose the light to dispel darkness from it.

10. " And again, O bhikkus, that I should comprehend that this was the noble truth concerning sorrow, though it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

11. " And again, O bhikkus, that I had comprehended that this was the noble truth concerning sorrow, though it was not

among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

12. "That this was the noble truth concerning the origin of sorrow, though it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye; but there arose within me the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the light.

13. "And again, O bhikkus, that I should put away the origin of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

14. "And again, O bhikkus, that I had fully put away the origin of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

15. "That this, O bhikkus, was the noble truth concerning the destruction of sorrow, though it was not among the doctrines handed down; but there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

16. "And again, O bhikkus, that I should fully realize the destruction of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

17. "And again, O bhikkus, that I had fully realized the destruction of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

18. "That this was the noble truth concerning the way which leads to the destruction of sorrow, was not, O bhikkus, among the doctrines handed down; but there arose within

me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

19. "And again, O bhikkus, that I should become versed in the way which leads to the destruction of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

20. "And again, O bhikkus, that I had become versed in the way which leads to the destruction of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

21. "So long, O bhikkus, as my knowledge and insight were not quite clear, regarding each of these four noble truths in this triple order, in this twelvefold manner — so long was I uncertain whether I had attained to the full insight of that wisdom which is unsurpassed in the heavens or on earth, among the whole race of Samanas and brahmins, or of gods or men.

22. "But as soon, O bhikkus, as my knowledge and insight were quite clear regarding each of these four noble truths, in this triple order, in this twelvefold manner — then did I become certain that I had attained to the full insight of that wisdom which is unsurpassed in the heavens or on earth, among the whole race of Samanas and brahmins, or of gods or men.

23. "And now this knowledge and this insight has arisen within me. Immovable is the emancipation of my heart. This is my last existence. There will now be no rebirth for me!"

24. Thus spake the Blessed One. The company of the five bhikkus, glad at heart, exalted the words of the Blessed One. And when the discourse had been uttered, there arose within the venerable Kondanna the eye of truth, spotless, and

without a stain, and he saw that whatsoever has an origin, in that is also inherent the necessity of coming to an end.¹⁰

25. And when the royal chariot-wheel of the truth had thus been set rolling onward by the Blessed One, the gods of the earth gave forth a shout, saying:

“In Benares, at the hermitage of the Migadaya, the supreme wheel of the empire of Truth has been set rolling by the Blessed One — that wheel which not by any Samana or brahmin, not by any god, not by any Bráhmâ or Mara, not by any one in the universe, can ever be turned back!”

26. And when they heard the shout of the gods of the earth, the attendant gods of the four great kings (the guardian angels of the four quarters of the globe) gave forth a shout, saying:

“In Benares, at the hermitage of the Migadaya, the supreme wheel of the empire of Truth has been set rolling by the Blessed One — that wheel which not by any Samana or brahmin, not by any god, not by any Bráhmâ or Mara, not by any one in the universe, can ever be turned back!”

27. And thus as the gods in each of the heavens heard the shout of the inhabitants of the heaven beneath, they took up the cry until the gods in the highest heaven of heavens gave forth the shout, saying:

“In Benares, at the hermitage of the Migadaya, the supreme wheel of the empire of Truth has been set rolling by the Blessed One — that wheel which not by any Samana or brahmin, not by any god, not by any Bráhmâ or Mara, not by any one in the universe, can ever be turned back!”

28. And thus, in an instant, a second, a moment, the sound went up even to the world of Bráhmâ: and this great ten-thousand-world-system quaked and trembled and was shaken violently, and an immeasurably bright light appeared in the universe, beyond even the power of the gods!

29. Then did the Blessed One give utterance to this ex-

¹⁰ It is the perception of this fact which is the *Dhammakakkhu*, the “Eye of Truth,” or the “Eye for Qualities” as it might be rendered with reference to the meaning of *Dhamma* in the words that follow.

clamation of joy: "Kondanna hath realized it. Kondanna hath realized it!" And so the venerable Kondanna acquired the name of Annata-Kondanna ("the Kondanna who realized").¹¹

¹¹ The Maha Vagga completes the narrative as follows: "And then the venerable Annata-Kondanna having seen the truth, having arrived at the truth, having known the truth, having penetrated the truth, having passed beyond doubt, having laid aside uncertainty, having attained to confidence, and being dependent on no one beside himself for knowledge of the religion of the teacher, spake thus to the Blessed One:

"May I become, O my Lord, a novice under the Blessed One; may I receive full ordination!"

"Welcome, O brother!" said the Blessed One, "the truth has been well laid down. Practise holiness to the complete suppression of sorrow!"

"And that was the ordination of the Venerable One."

The other four, Vappa, Bhaddiya, Mahanama, and Assagi, were converted on the following days. It is also said that "myriads of the angels (devas) had been converted simultaneously with Kondanna."

THE BOOK OF THE GREAT DECEASE

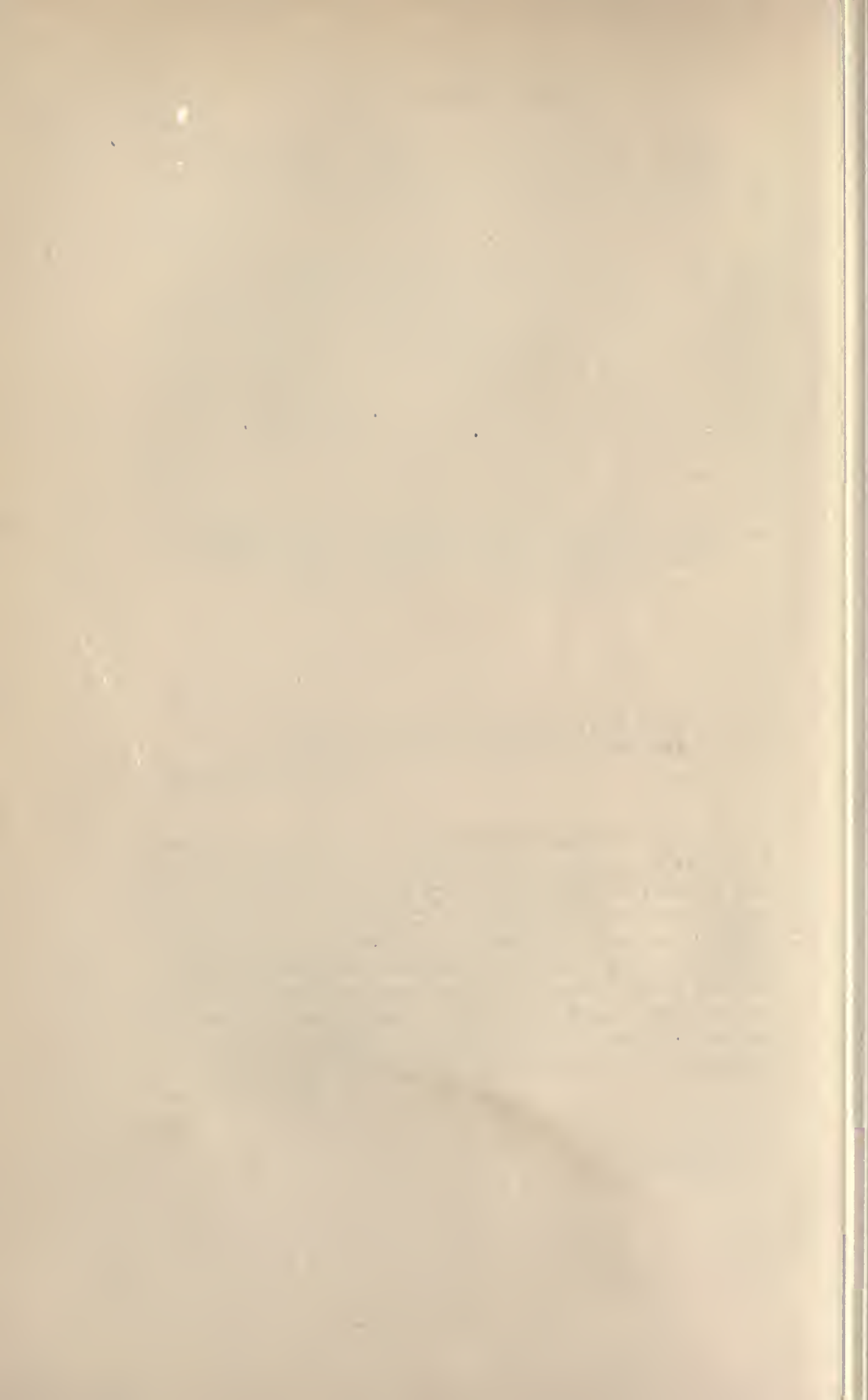
TRANSLATED BY T. W. RHYS DAVIDS

*"E'en as a bright flame dies away, so was
His last deliverance from the bonds of life."*

—THE GREAT DECEASE.

"When we consider how profound must have been the influence he exercised on his generation, when we bear in mind that he spent the best part of his long life in building up the system that was to immortalize his name, that by years of intimate association he had made his disciples thoroughly familiar with his religious views, his disposition, and his habits of life, we need not deem it likely that in the memory of those who carried on his work of zeal, his character, words, and deeds should quickly fade away. In those earlier traditions we have a fair indication both of the man and of his method of teaching."

—PROF. C. F. AIKEN.



THE BOOK OF THE GREAT DECEASE

(INTRODUCTION)

OUR general introduction gave a brief outline of the life of Gotama, or Prince Siddhartha, more commonly known as Buddha (the Awakened One), or as Bhagavat (the Blessed One), or Sakyamuni (the Sage of the Sakya clan), or Tathagata (the Returning One), or by any other of a score of worshiping phrases. This traditionally accepted life of Gotama is, however, found only in later books. The sole canonical or Scriptural book of Buddhism which tells of Gotama in any connected fashion is the one here given, the Book of the Great Decease. This book therefore is held by the Buddhists in especial reverence. It shares with the Dhammapada and the Kingdom of Righteousness the highest rank among the holy books.

The Decease is much longer than any of the other early Suttas, and its adjective "great" may really refer to its length rather than give honor to Buddha's death. We should perhaps therefore translate the title as "the great book of the decease." As to its date all we can say is that it is as old as most of the Buddhist Scriptures. It was certainly written down at the time of the general writing of the Scriptures about 70 B.C.; and it must have been in use in the earlier days of recitation, for its constant repetitions (somewhat abridged in this translation) are obviously meant to aid the reciter's memory. Probably we should not be far wrong if we assumed that it was composed about a century or two after Buddha's death, perhaps 300 B.C.

It is in truth the book of Buddha's death rather than of his life. It begins only with the last three months of his career, and tells mainly of his final teachings, being much more a record of these than of his deeds. It has the opening formula common to most of the Suttas, "Thus have I heard.

The Blessed One was once dwelling at" such and such a place. But this Sutta then goes on, not to detail a single anecdote or sermon, but to present a fairly continuous narrative.

This Book of the Great Decease has often been compared with the Gospels of Christ's death upon the cross. The quiet peace of the Buddhist picture is in sharpest contrast to the intense and awful tragedy of the Crucifixion.

THE BOOK OF THE GREAT DECEASE

OR

MAHA-PARINIBBANA SUTTA

CHAPTER I

1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once dwelling in Ragagaha, on the hill called the Vulture's Peak. Now at that time Agatasattu, the son of the queen-consort of Videha origin,¹ the King of Magadha, was desirous of attacking the Vaggians; and he said to himself, "I will root out these Vaggians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will destroy these Vaggians, I will bring these Vaggians to utter ruin!"

2. So he spake to the brahmin Vassakara, the prime minister of Magadha, and said:

"Come now, O brahmin, do you go to the Blessed One, and bow down in adoration at his feet on my behalf, and inquire in my name whether he is free from illness and suffering, and in the enjoyment of ease and comfort, and vigorous health. Then tell him that Agatasattu, son of the Vedehi, the King of Magadha, in his eagerness to attack the Vaggians, has resolved, 'I will root out these Vaggians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will destroy these Vaggians, I will bring these Vaggians to utter ruin!' And bear carefully in mind whatever the Blessed One may predict, and repeat it to me. For the Buddhas speak nothing untrue!"

3. Then the brahmin Vassakara harkened to the words of

¹ *Agatasattu Vedehiputto*. The first word is not a personal name, but an official epithet, "he against whom there has arisen no worthy or equal foe"; the second gives us the maiden family, or tribal (not personal) name of his mother. Persons of distinction are scarcely ever mentioned by name in Indian Buddhist books, a rule applying more especially to kings, but extended not infrequently to private persons.

the King, saying, "Be it as you say." And ordering a number of magnificent carriages to be made ready, he mounted one of them, left Ragagaha with his train, and went to the Vulture's Peak, riding as far as the ground was passable for carriages, and then alighting and proceeding on foot to the place where the Blessed One was. On arriving there he exchanged with the Blessed One the greetings and compliments of friendship and civility, sat down respectfully by his side, and then delivered to him the message even as the King had commanded.

4. Now at that time the venerable Ananda was standing behind the Blessed One, and fanning him. And the Blessed One said to him: "Have you heard, Ananda, that the Vaggians hold full and frequent public assemblies?"

"Lord, so I have heard," replied he.

"So long, Ananda," rejoined the Blessed One, "as the Vaggians hold these full and frequent public assemblies; so long may they be expected not to decline, but to prosper."

And in like manner questioning Ananda, and receiving a similar reply, the Blessed One declared as follows the other conditions which would ensure the welfare of the Vaggian confederacy.

"So long, Ananda, as the Vaggians meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out their undertakings in concord — so long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vaggians as established in former days — so long as they honor and esteem and revere and support the Vaggian elders, and hold it a point of duty to harken to their words — so long as no women or girls belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction — so long as they honor and esteem and revere and support the Vaggian shrines in town or country, and allow not the proper offerings and rites, as formerly given and performed, to fall into desuetude — so long as the rightful protection, defense, and support shall be fully provided for the Arahats among them, so that Arahats from a distance may enter the realm, and the Arahats therein may

live at ease — so long may the Vaggians be expected not to decline, but to prosper.”

5. Then the Blessed One addressed Vassakara the brahmin, and said:

“When I was once staying, O brahmin, at Vesali at the Sarandada Temple, I taught the Vaggians these conditions of welfare; and so long as those conditions shall continue to exist among the Vaggians, so long as the Vaggians shall be well instructed in those conditions, so long may we expect them not to decline, but to prosper.”

“We may expect, then,” answered the brahmin, “the welfare and not the decline of the Vaggians when they are possessed of any one of these conditions of welfare; how much more so when they are possessed of all the seven! So, Gotama, the Vaggians can not be overcome by the King of Magadha; that is, not in battle, without diplomacy or breaking up their alliance. And now, Gotama, we must go; we are busy, and have much to do.”

“Whatever you think most fitting, O brahmin,” was the reply. And the brahmin Vassakara, delighted and pleased with the words of the Blessed One, rose from his seat, and went his way.

6. Now soon after he had gone the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: “Go now, Ananda, and assemble in the Service Hall such of the Brethren² as live in the neighborhood of Ragagaha.”

²The word translated “brethren” throughout is in the original *bhikkhu*, a word most difficult to render adequately by any word which would not, to Christians and in Europe, connote something different from the Buddhist idea. A *bhikkhu*, literally “beggar,” was a disciple who had joined Gotama’s order; but the word refers to their renunciation of worldly things, rather than to their consequent mendicancy; and they did not really beg in our modern sense of the word. Hardy has “priests”; I have elsewhere used “monks” and sometimes “beggars” and “members of the order.” This last is, I think, the best rendering; but it is too long for constant repetition, as in this passage, and too complex to be a really good version of *bhikkhu*. The members of the order were not priests, for they had no priestly powers. They were not monks, for they took no vow of obedience, and could leave the order (and constantly did so and do so still) whenever they

And he did so; and returned to the Blessed One, and informed him, saying:

"The company of the Brethren, Lord, is assembled, let the Blessed One do as seemeth to him fit."

And the Blessed One arose, and went to the Service Hall; and when he was seated, he addressed the Brethren, and said:

"I will teach you, O mendicants, seven conditions of the welfare of a community. Listen well and attend, and I will speak."

"Even so, Lord," said the Brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One; and he spake as follows:

"So long, O mendicants, as the brethren meet together in full and frequent assemblies — so long as they meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out in concord the duties of the order — so long as the brethren shall establish nothing that has not been already prescribed, and abrogate nothing that has been already established, and act in accordance with the rules of the order as now laid down — so long as the brethren honor and esteem and revere and support the elders of experience and long standing, the fathers and leaders of the order, and hold it a point of duty to harken to their words — so long as the brethren fall not under the influence of that craving which, springing up within them, would give rise to renewed existence — so long as the brethren delight in a life of solitude — so long as the brethren so train their minds that good and holy men shall come to them, and those who have come shall dwell at ease — so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper. So long as these seven conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are well instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

7. "Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak."

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:

chose. They were not beggars, for they had none of the mental and moral qualities associated with that word. "Brethren" connotes very much the position in which they stood to one another; but I wish there were a better word to use in rendering *bhikkhū*.

"So long as the brethren shall not engage in, or be fond of, or be connected with business — so long as the brethren shall not be in the habit of, or be fond of, or be partakers in idle talk — so long as the brethren shall not be addicted to, or be fond of, or indulge in slothfulness — so long as the brethren shall not frequent, or be fond of, or indulge in society — so long as the brethren shall neither have, nor fall under the influence of, sinful desires — so long as the brethren shall not become the friends, companions, or intimates of sinners — so long as the brethren shall not come to a stop on their way to Nirvana because they have attained to any lesser thing — so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

"So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

8. "Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak."

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:

"So long as the brethren shall be full of faith, modest in heart, afraid of sin, full of learning, strong in energy, active in mind, and full of wisdom, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

"So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

9. "Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak."

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:

"So long as the brethren shall exercise themselves in the sevenfold higher wisdom, that is to say, in mental activity, search after truth, energy, joy, peace, earnest contemplation, and equanimity of mind, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

"So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these condi-

tions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

10. "Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak."

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:

"So long as the brethren shall exercise themselves in the sevenfold perception due to earnest thought, that is to say, the perception of impermanency, of non-individuality, of corruption, of the danger of sin, of sanctification, of purity of heart, of Nirvana, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

"So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

11. "Six conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak."

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:

"So long as the brethren shall persevere in kindness of action, speech, and thought amongst the saints, both in public and in private — so long as they shall divide without partiality, and share in common with the upright and the holy, all such things as they receive in accordance with the just provisions of the order, down even to the mere contents of a begging bowl — so long as the brethren shall live among the saints in the practise, both in public and in private, of those virtues which unbroken, intact, unspotted, unblemished, are productive of freedom, and praised by the wise; which are untarnished by the desire of future life, or by the belief in the efficacy of outward acts; and which are conducive to high and holy thoughts — so long as the brethren shall live among the saints cherishing, both in public and in private, that noble and saving faith which leads to the complete destruction of the sorrow of him who acts according to it — so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

"So long as these six conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these

six conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper."

12. And whilst the Blessed One stayed there at Ragagaha on the Vulture's Peak he held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. "Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance."³

13. Now when the Blessed One had sojourned at Ragagaha as long as he pleased, he addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: "Come, Ananda, let us go to Ambalatthika."

"So be it, Lord!" said Ananda in assent, and the Blessed One, with a large company of the brethren, proceeded to Ambalatthika.

14. There the Blessed One stayed in the king's house and held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. "Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance."

³ This paragraph is spoken of as if it were a well-known summary, and it is constantly repeated below. The word I have rendered "earnest contemplation" is *samadhi*, which occupies in the Pali Pitakas very much the same position as "faith" does in the New Testament; and this section shows that the relative importance of *samadhi*, *panna*, and *sila* played a part in early Buddhism just as the distinction between faith, reason, and works did afterward in Western theology. It would be difficult to find a passage in which the Buddhist view of the relation of these conflicting ideas is stated with greater beauty of thought, or equal succinctness of form.

15. Now when the Blessed One had stayed as long as was convenient at Ambalatthika, he addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: "Come, Ananda, let us go on to Nalanda."

"So be it, Lord!" said Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Nalanda; and there, at Nalanda, the Blessed One stayed in the Pavarika mango grove.

16. ⁴ Now the venerable Sariputta came to the place where the Blessed One was, and having saluted him, took his seat respectfully at his side, and said: "Lord! such faith have I in the Blessed One, that methinks there never has been, nor will there be, nor is there now any other, whether Samana, or brahmin, who is greater and wiser than the Blessed One, that is to say, as regards the higher wisdom."

"Grand and bold are the words of thy mouth, Sariputta: verily, thou hast burst forth into a song of ecstasy! of course then thou hast known all the Blessed Ones who in the long ages of the past have been Arahāt Buddhas, comprehending their minds with yours, and aware what their conduct was, what their doctrine, what their wisdom, what their mode of life, and what salvation they attained to?"

"Not so, O Lord!"

"Of course then thou hast perceived all the Blessed Ones who in the long ages of the future shall be Arahāt Buddhas comprehending [in the same manner their whole minds with yours]?"

"Not so, O Lord!"

"But at least then, O Sariputta, thou knowest me as the Arahāt Buddha now alive, and hast penetrated my mind [in the manner I have mentioned]!"

"Not even that, O Lord!"

"You see then, Sariputta, that you know not the hearts of the Arahāt Buddhas of the past and of the future. Why

⁴ This conversation is given at length. I have compressed mere repetitions at the places marked with [] where the preceding clauses are, in the text, repeated in full.

therefore are your words so grand and bold? Why do you burst forth into such a song of ecstasy?"

17. "O Lord! I have not the knowledge of the hearts of the Arahāt Buddhas that have been, and are to come, and now are. I only know the lineage of the faith. Just, Lord, as a king might have a border city, strong in its foundations, strong in its ramparts and toranas, and with one gate alone; and the king might have a watchman there, clever, expert, and wise, to stop all strangers and admit only friends. And he, on going over the approaches all round the city, might not so observe all the joints and crevices in the ramparts of that city as to know where even a cat could get out. That might well be. Yet all living things of larger size that entered or left the city would have to do so by that gate. Thus only is it, Lord, that I know the lineage of the faith. I know that the Arahāt Buddhas of the past, putting away all lust, ill-will, sloth, pride, and doubt; knowing all those mental faults which make men weak; training their minds in the four kinds of mental activity; thoroughly exercising themselves in the sevenfold higher wisdom, received the full fruition of Enlightenment. And I know that the Arahāt Buddhas of the times to come will [do the same]. And I know that the Blessed One, the Arahāt Buddha of to-day, has [done so] now." ⁵

18. There in the Pavarika mango grove the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. "Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct.

⁵ The *tertium quid* of the comparison is the completeness of the knowledge. Sariputta acknowledges that he was wrong in jumping to the wide conclusion that his own lord and master was the wisest of all the teachers of the different religious systems that were known to him. So far—after the cross-examination by the Buddha—he admits that his knowledge does not reach. But he maintains that he does know that which is, to him, after all the main thing, namely, that all the Buddhas must have passed through the process here laid down as leading up to Buddhahood. The Pali of "the full fruition of Enlightenment" might be rendered "Supreme Buddhahood."

Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance."

19. Now when the Blessed One had stayed as long as was convenient at Nalanda, he addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: "Come Ananda, let us go on to Pataligama."

"So be it, Lord!" said Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Pataligama.

20. Now the disciples at Pataligama heard of his arrival there, and they went to the place where he was, took their seats respectfully beside him, and invited him to their village rest-house. And the Blessed One signified, by silence, his consent.

21. Then the Pataligama disciples seeing that he had accepted the invitation, rose from their seats, and went away to the rest-house, bowing to the Blessed One and keeping him on their right as they passed him.⁶ On arriving there they made the rest-house fit in every way for occupation, placed seats in it, set up a water-pot, and fixed an oil-lamp. Then they returned to the Blessed One, and bowing, stood beside him, and said: "All things are ready, Lord! It is time for you to do what you deem most fit."

22. And the Blessed One robed himself, took his bowl and other things, went with the brethren to the rest-house, washed his feet, entered the hall, and took his seat against the center pillar, with his face toward the east. And the brethren also, after washing their feet, entered the hall, and took their seats round the Blessed One, against the western wall, and facing the east. And the Pataligama disciples too, after washing their feet, entered the hall, and took their seats opposite the Blessed One, against the eastern wall, and facing toward the west.

⁶It would be very rude to have left him otherwise. So in Europe a similar custom is carried still further, persons leaving the royal presence being expected to go out backward.

23.⁷ Then the Blessed One addressed the Pataligama disciples, and said: "Fivefold, O householders, is the loss of the wrong-doer through his want of rectitude. In the first place the wrong-doer, devoid of rectitude, falls into great poverty through sloth; in the next place his evil repute gets noised abroad; thirdly, whatever society he enters — whether of brahmins, nobles, heads of houses, or Samanas — he enters shyly and confused; fourthly, he is full of anxiety when he dies; and lastly, on the dissolution of the body, after death, he is reborn into some unhappy state of suffering or woe.⁸ This, O householders, is the fivefold loss of the evil-doer!

24. "Fivefold, O householders, is the gain of the well-doer through his practise of rectitude. In the first place the well-doer, strong in rectitude, acquires great wealth through his industry; in the next place, good reports of him are spread abroad; thirdly, whatever society he enters — whether of nobles, brahmins, heads of houses, or members of the order — he enters confident and self-possessed; fourthly, he dies without anxiety; and lastly, on the dissolution of the body, after death, he is reborn into some happy state in heaven. This, O householders, is the fivefold gain of the well-doer."

25. When the Blessed One had thus taught the disciples, and incited them, and roused them, and gladdened them, far into the night with religious discourse, he dismissed them, saying, "The night is far spent, O householders. It is time for you to do what you deem most fit." "Even so, Lord!" answered the disciples of Pataligama, and they rose from their seats, and bowing to the Blessed One, and keeping him on their right hand as they passed him, they departed thence.

And the Blessed One, not long after the disciples of

⁷ The following sentences contain a synopsis of what was merely the elementary righteousness, and not for a moment to be compared in glory with the system developed in the Noble Eightfold Path. The latter, to be perfect, must be untarnished by the attraction of the hope of heaven or the fear of hell.

⁸ Four such states are mentioned, all of which are temporary states. The first three seem to be synonyms. The last is one of the four divisions into which the first is usually divided, and is often translated hell; but not being an eternal state, and not being dependent or consequent upon any judgment, it can not accurately be so rendered.

Pataligama had departed thence, entered into his private chamber.

26. At that time Sunidha and Vassakara, the chief ministers of Magadha, were building a fortress at Pataligama to repel the Vaggians, and there were a number of fairies who haunted in thousands the plots of ground there. Now, wherever ground is so occupied by powerful fairies, they bend the hearts of the most powerful kings and ministers to build dwelling-places there, and fairies of middling and inferior power bend in a similar way the hearts of middling or inferior kings and ministers.

27. And the Blessed One, with his great and clear vision, surpassing that of ordinary men, saw thousands of those fairies haunting Pataligama. And he rose up very early in the morning, and said to Ananda: "Who is it then, Ananda, who is building a fortress at Pataligama?"

"Sunidha and Vassakara, Lord, the chief ministers of Magadha, are building a fortress there to keep back the Vaggians."

28. "They act, Ananda, as if they had consulted with the Tavatimsa angels." [And telling him of what he had seen, and of the influence such fairies had, he added]: "And among famous places of residence and haunts of busy men, this will become the chief, the city of Patali-putta, a center for the interchange of all kinds of wares. But three dangers will hang over Patali-putta, that of fire, that of water, and that of dissension."⁹

⁹ This paragraph is of importance to the orthodox Buddhist as proving the Buddha's power of prophecy and the authority of the Buddhist scriptures. To those who conclude that such a passage must have been written after the event that is prophesied, it is valuable evidence of the age both of the *Maha Vagga* and of the *Maha-parinibbana Sutta*; evidence, however, that can not as yet be applied to its full extent, as the time at which Pataligama had grown into the great and important city of Patali-putta is not as yet known with sufficient certainty.

The curious popular belief as to good and bad fairies haunting the sites of houses gave rise to a quack science, akin to astrology, called *vatthu-vigga*, which Buddhaghosa explains at some length, and which is frequently condemned elsewhere in the Pali Pitakas.

29. Now Sunidha and Vassakara, the chief ministers of Magadha, proceeded to the place where the Blessed One was. And when they had come there they exchanged with the Blessed One the greetings and compliments of friendship and civility, and stood there respectfully on one side. And, so standing, Sunidha and Vassakara, the chief ministers of Magadha, spake thus to the Blessed One:

"May the venerable Gotama do us the honor of taking his meal, together with the company of the brethren, at our house to-day." And the Blessed One signified, by silence, his consent.

30. Then when Sunidha and Vassakara, the chief ministers of Magadha, perceived that he had given his consent, they returned to the place where they dwelt. And on arriving there, they prepared sweet dishes of boiled rice, and cakes; and informed the Blessed One, saying:

"The hour of food has come, O Gotama, and all is ready."

And the Blessed One robed himself early, took his bowl with him, and repaired with the brethren to the dwelling-place of Sunidha and Vassakara, and sat down on the seat prepared for him. And with their own hands they set the sweet rice and the cakes before the brethren with the Buddha at their head, and waited on them till they had had enough. And when the Blessed One had finished eating his meal, the ministers brought a low seat, and sat down respectfully at his side.

31. And when they were thus seated the Blessed One gave thanks in these verses:

"Wheresoe'er the prudent man shall take up his abode
Let him support there good and upright men of self-control.
Let him give gifts to all such deities as may be there.
Revered, they will revere him: honored, they honor him again;
Are gracious to him as a mother to her own, her only son.
And the man who has the grace of the gods, good fortune he beholds."¹⁰

32. And when he had thanked the ministers in these verses he rose from his seat and departed thence. And they fol-

¹⁰ This passage gives the commentator Buddhaghosa a good deal of difficulty, as it apparently inculcates offerings to the gods, which is contrary not only to both the letter and spirit of Buddhism, but also

lowed him as he went, saying, "The gate the Samana Gotama goes out by to-day shall be called Gotama's gate, and the ferry at which he crosses the river shall be called Gotama's ferry." And the gate he went out at was called Gotama's gate.

33. But the Blessed One went on to the river. And at that time the river Ganges was brimful and overflowing; and wishing to cross to the opposite bank, some began to seek for boats, some for rafts of wood, while some made rafts of basket-work. Then the Blessed One as instantaneously as a strong man would stretch forth his arm, or draw it back again when he had stretched it forth, vanished from this side of the river, and stood on the farther bank with the company of the brethren.

34. And the Blessed One beheld the people looking for boats and rafts, and as he beheld them he brake forth at that time into this song:

"They who cross the ocean drear
Making a solid path across the pools—
Whilst the vain world ties its basket rafts—
These are the wise, these are the saved indeed!"¹¹

End of the First Portion for Recitation.

to the practise of Buddhists. He explains away the gifts to the deities by saying they are gifts of merit only (*patti*)—the giver giving the four necessities to bhikkus, and then expressing a wish that the Devatas should share in his *punna*. I am inclined to think, on the authority of the Deva-dhamma Gataka (No. 9 in Buddhist Birth-Stories"), that by the deities are here meant the "good and upright men of self-control," mentioned in the previous clause. The verses were perhaps originally non-Buddhistic.

¹¹ That is, those who cross the "ocean drear" of *tanha*, or craving; avoiding, by means of the "dike" or causeway of the Noble Path, the "pools" or shallows of lust, and ignorance, and delusion, whilst the vain world looks for salvation from rites, and ceremonies, and gods—"these are the wise, these are the saved indeed!"

How the meter of the verses in the text fell into the confusion in which it at present stands is not easy to see.

CHAPTER II

1. Now the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: "Come, Ananda, let us go on to Kotigama."

"So be it, Lord!" said Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

The Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Kotigama; and there he stayed in the village itself.¹

2. And at that place the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: "It is through not understanding and grasping four Noble Truths, O brethren, that we have had to run so long, to wander so long in this weary path of transmigration, both you and I!"

"And what are these four?"

"The noble truth about sorrow; the noble truth about the cause of sorrow; the noble truth about the cessation of sorrow; and the noble truth about the path that leads to that cessation. But when these nobles truths are grasped and known the craving for existence is rooted out, that which leads to renewed existence is destroyed, and then there is no more birth!"

3. Thus spake the Blessed One; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, then again the Teacher said:

"By not seeing the four Noble Truths as they really are,
Long is the path that is traversed through many a birth;
When these are grasped, the cause of birth is then removed,
The root of sorrow rooted out, and there is no more birth."

4. There too, while staying at Kotigama, the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious discourse with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. "Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of

¹ As will be observed from the similar passages that follow, there is a regular sequence of clauses in the set descriptions of the Buddha's movements. The last clause should specify the particular grove or house where the Blessed One stayed; but it is also (in this and one or two other cases) inserted with due regularity even when it adds nothing positive to the sense.

intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils—that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.”

5. Now when the Blessed One had remained as long as was convenient at Kotigama, he addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: “Come, Ananda, let us go on to the villages of Nadika.”

“So be it, Lord!” said Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

And the Blessed One proceeded to the villages of Nadika with a great company of the brethren; and there, at Nadika, the Blessed One stayed at the Brick Hall.

6. And the venerable Ananda went to the Blessed One and paid him reverence and took his seat beside him. And when he was seated, he addressed the Blessed One, and said: “The brother named Salha has died at Nadika, Lord. Where has he been reborn, and what is his destiny? The sister named Nanda has died, Lord, at Nadika. Where is she reborn, and what is her destiny?” And in the same terms he inquired concerning the devout Sudatta, and the devout lady Sugata, the devout Kakudha, and Kalinga, and Nikata, and Katisabha, and Tuttha, and Santuttha, and Bhadda, and Subhadda.

7. “The brother named Salha, Ananda, by the destruction of the great evils has by himself, and in this world, known and realized and attained to Arahatsip, and to emancipation of heart and to emancipation of mind. The sister named Nanda, Ananda, has, by the complete destruction of the five bonds that bind people to this world, become an inheritor of the highest heavens, there to pass entirely away, thence never to return. The devout Sudatta, Ananda, by the complete destruction of the three bonds, and by the reduction to a minimum of lust, hatred, and delusion, has become a Sakadagamin, who on his first return to this world will make an end of sorrow. The devout woman Sugata, Ananda, by the complete destruction of the three bonds, has become converted, is no

longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and is assured of final salvation. The devout Kakudha, Ananda, by the complete destruction of the five bonds that bind people to these lower worlds of lust, has become an inheritor of the highest heavens, there to pass entirely away, thence never to return. So also is the case with Kalinga, Nikata, Katissabha, Tuttha, Santuttha, Bhadda, and Subhadda, and with more than fifty devout men of Nadika. More than ninety devout men of Nadika, who have died, Ananda, have by the complete destruction of the three bonds, and by the reduction of lust, hatred, and delusion, become Sakadagamins, who on their first return to this world will make an end of sorrow. More than five hundred devout men of Nadika who have died, Ananda, have by the complete destruction of the three bonds become converted, are no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and are assured of final salvation.

8. "Now there is nothing strange in this, Ananda, that a human being should die, but that as each one does so you should come to the Buddha, and inquire about them in this manner; that is wearisome to the Buddha. I will, therefore, teach you a way of truth, called the Mirror of Truth, which if an elect disciple possess he may himself predict of himself, 'Hell is destroyed for me, and rebirth as an animal, or a ghost, or in any place of woe. I am converted, I am no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and am assured of final salvation.'

9. "What then, Ananda, is this mirror of truth? It is the consciousness that the elect disciple is in this world possessed of faith in the Buddha — believing the Blessed One to be the Holy One, the Fully-enlightened One, Wise, Upright, Happy, World-knowing, Supreme, the Bridler of men's wayward hearts, the Teacher of gods and men, the Blessed Buddha. And that he (the disciple) is possessed of faith in the Truth — believing the truth to have been proclaimed by the Blessed One, of advantage in this world, passing not away, welcoming all, leading to salvation, and to be attained to by the wise, each one for himself. And that he (the disciple) is possessed of faith in the Order — believing the multitude of

the disciples of the Blessed One who are walking in the four stages of the noble eightfold path, the righteous, the upright, the just, the law-abiding — believing this Church of the Buddha to be worthy of honor, of hospitality, of gifts, and of reverence; to be the supreme sowing ground of merit for the world; to be possessed of the virtues beloved by the good, virtues unbroken, intact, unspotted, unblemished, virtues which make men truly free, virtues which are praised by the wise, are untarnished by the desire of future life or by the belief in the efficacy of outward acts, and are conducive to high and holy thought.

10. "This, Ananda, is the way, the mirror of truth, which if an elect disciple possess he may himself predict of himself: 'Hell is destroyed for me; and rebirth as an animal, or a ghost, or in any place of woe. I am converted; I am no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and am assured of final salvation.'"

11. There, too, at the Brick Hall at Nadika the Blessed One addressed to the brethren that comprehensive religious discourse on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence.

"Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance."

12. Now when the Blessed One had remained as long as he wished at Nadika, he addressed Ananda, and said: "Come, Ananda, let us go on to Vesali."

"So be it, Lord!" said Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Vesali; and there at Vesali the Blessed One stayed at Ambapali's grove.

13. Now there the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: "Let a brother, O mendicants, be mindful and thoughtful; this is our instruction to you."

14. "And how does a brother become mindful?"

"Herein, O mendicants, let a brother, as he dwells in the body, so regard the body that he, being strenuous, thoughtful, and mindful, may, whilst in the world, overcome the grief which arises from bodily craving — while subject to sensations, let him continue so to regard the sensations that he, being strenuous, thoughtful, and mindful, may, whilst in the world, overcome the grief arising from the craving which follows our sensation — and so also as he thinks or reasons or feels let him overcome the grief which arises from the craving due to ideas, or reasoning, or feeling."

15. "And how does a brother become thoughtful?"

"He acts, O mendicants, in full presence of mind whatever he may do, in going out and coming in, in looking and watching, in bending in his arm or stretching it forth, in wearing his robes or carrying his bowl, in eating and drinking, in consuming or tasting, in walking or standing or sitting, in sleeping or waking, in talking and in being silent.

"Thus let a brother, O mendicants, be mindful and thoughtful; this is our instruction to you."²

16. Now the courtesan Ambapali heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Vesali, and was staying at her mango grove. And ordering a number of magnificent vehicles to be made ready, she mounted one of them, and proceeded with her train toward her garden. She went in the carriage as far as the ground was passable for carriages; there she alighted; and she proceeded on foot to the place where the Blessed One was, and took her seat respectfully on one side. And when

² This doctrine of being "mindful and thoughtful" — *sato sampagano* — is one of the lessons most frequently inculcated in the Pali Pitakas, and is one of the "Seven Jewels of the Law." Buddhaghosa observes in passing that the reason why the Blessed One laid stress, at this particular time and place, on the necessity of being "mindful and thoughtful," was because of the imminent approach of the beautiful courtesan in whose grove they were staying. The use of the same phrase in reference to the way in which women should be treated, is quite in accordance with this explanation.

she was thus seated the Blessed One instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened her with religious discourse.

17. Then she — instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened with his words — addressed the Blessed One, and said:

“May the Blessed One do me the honor of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at my house to-morrow.”

And the Blessed One gave, by silence, his consent. Then when Ambapali the courtesan saw that the Blessed One had consented, she rose from her seat and bowed down before him, and keeping him on her right hand as she passed him, she departed thence.

18. Now the Likkhavis of Vesali heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Vesali, and was staying at Ambapali's grove. And ordering a number of magnificent carriages to be made ready, they mounted one of them and proceeded with their train to Vesali. Some of them were dark, dark in color, and wearing dark clothes and ornaments: some of them were fair, fair in color, and wearing light clothes and ornaments: some of them were red, ruddy in color, and wearing red clothes and ornaments: some of them were white, pale in color, and wearing white clothes and ornaments.

19. And Ambapali drove up against the young Likkhavis, axle to axle, wheel to wheel, and yoke to yoke, and the Likkhavis said to Ambapali the courtesan, “How is it, Ambapali, that thou drivest up against us thus?”

“My Lords, I have just invited the Blessed One and his brethren for their morrow's meal,” said she.

“Ambapali! give up this meal to us for a hundred thousand,” said they.

“My Lords, were you to offer all Vesali with its subject territory, I would not give up so honorable a feast!”

Then the Likkhavis cast up their hands, exclaiming, “We are outdone by this mango girl! we are outreached by this mango girl!”³ and they went on to Ambapali's grove.

20. When the Blessed One saw the Likkhavis approaching in the distance, he addressed the brethren, and said:

“O brethren, let those of the brethren who have never

³ *Ambapcli* means “mango grower,” one who looks after mangoes.

seen the Tavatimsa gods, gaze upon this company of the Likkhavis, behold this company of the Likkhavis, compare this company of the Likkhavis — even as a company of Tavatimsa gods.”⁴

21. And when they had ridden as far as the ground was passable for carriages, the Likkhavis alighted there, and then went on on foot to the place where the Blessed One was, and took their seats respectfully by his side. And when they were thus seated the Blessed One instructed and roused and incited and gladdened them with religious discourse.

22. Then they, instructed and roused and incited and gladdened with his words, addressed the Blessed One, and said, “May the Blessed One do us the honor of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at our house to-morrow?”

“O Likkhavis, I have promised to dine to-morrow with Ambapali the courtesan,” was the reply.

Then the Likkhavis cast up their hands, exclaiming, “We are outdone by this mango girl! we are outreached by this mango girl!” And expressing their thanks and approval of the words of the Blessed One, they rose from their seats and bowed down before the Blessed One, and keeping him on their right hand as they passed him, they departed thence.

23. And at the end of the night Ambapali the courtesan made ready in her mansion sweet rice and cakes, and announced the time to the Blessed One, saying, “The hour, Lord, has come, and the meal is ready!”

And the Blessed One robed himself early in the morning, and took his bowl, and went with the brethren to the place where Ambapali’s dwelling-house was: and when he had come there he seated himself on the seat prepared for him. And Ambapali the courtesan set the sweet rice and cakes

⁴The *Tavatimsa-deva* are the gods in the heaven of the Great Thirty-Three, the principal deities of the Vedic Pantheon. “The princes had come in their finest and richest dress; in their appearance they vied in beauty with the Nats (or angels). But foreseeing the ruin and misery that was soon to come upon them all, the Buddha exhorted his disciples to entertain a thorough contempt for things that are dazzling to the eyes, but essentially perishable and unreal in their nature.”

before the order, with the Buddha at their head, and waited upon them till they refused any more.

24. And when the Blessed One had quite finished his meal, the courtesan had a low stool brought, and sat down at his side, and addressed the Blessed One, and said: "Lord, I present this mansion to the order of mendicants, of which the Buddha is the chief." And the Blessed One accepted the gift; and after instructing, and rousing, and inciting, and gladdening her with religious discourse, he rose from his seat and departed thence.⁵

25. While at Ambapali's mango grove the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious discourse with the disciples on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence.

"Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance."

26. Now when the Blessed One had remained as long as he wished at Ambapali's grove, he addressed Ananda, and said: "Come, Ananda, let us go on to Beluva."

"So be it, Lord," said Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Beluva, and there the Blessed One stayed in the village itself.

27. Now the Blessed One there addressed the brethren, and said: "O mendicants, do you take up your abode round

⁵ Bishop Bigandet says: "In recording the conversion of a courtesan named Apapalika, her liberality and gifts to Buddha and his disciples, and the preference designedly given to her over princes and nobles, who, humanely speaking, seemed in every respect better entitled to attentions—one is almost reminded of the conversion of 'a woman that was a sinner,' mentioned in the Gospels" (Legend of the Burmese Buddha).

about Vesali, each according to the place where his friends, intimates, and close companions may live, for the rainy season of *vassa*. I shall enter upon the rainy season here at Beluva."

"So be it, Lord!" said those brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One. And they entered upon the rainy season round about Vesali, each according to the place where his friends or intimates or close companions lived: whilst the Blessed One stayed even there at Beluva.

28. Now when the Blessed One had thus entered upon the rainy season, there fell upon him a dire sickness, and sharp pains came upon him, even unto death. But the Blessed One, mindful and self-possessed, bore them without complaint.

29. Then this thought occurred to the Blessed One, "It would not be right for me to pass away from existence without addressing the disciples, without taking leave of the order. Let me now, by a strong effort of the will, bend this sickness down again, and keep my hold on life till the allotted time be come."

30. And the Blessed One, by a strong effort of the will, bent that sickness down again, and kept his hold on life till the time he fixed upon should come. And the sickness abated upon him.

31. Now very soon after the Blessed One began to recover; when he had quite got rid of the sickness, he went out from the monastery, and sat down behind the monastery on a seat spread out there. And the venerable Ananda went to the place where the Blessed One was, and saluted him, and took a seat respectfully on one side, and addressed the Blessed One, and said: "I have beheld, Lord, how the Blessed One was in health, and I have beheld how the Blessed One had to suffer. And though at the sight of the sickness of the Blessed One my body became weak as a creeper, and the horizon became dim to me, and my faculties were no longer clear, yet notwithstanding I took some little comfort from the thought

that the Blessed One would not pass away from existence until at least he had left instructions as touching the order."

32. "What, then, Ananda? Does the order expect that of me? I have preached the truth without making any distinction between exoteric and esoteric doctrine: for in respect of the truths, Ananda, the Tathagata has no such thing as the closed fist of a teacher, who keeps some things back. Surely, Ananda, should there be any one who harbors the thought, 'It is I who will lead the brotherhood,' or 'The order is dependent upon me,' it is he who should lay down instructions in any matter concerning the order. Now the Tathagata, Ananda, thinks not that it is he who should lead the brotherhood, or that the order is dependent upon him. Why then should he leave instructions in any matter concerning the order? I too, O Ananda, am now grown old, and full of years, my journey is drawing to its close, I have reached my sum of days, I am turning eighty years of age; and just as a worn-out cart, Ananda, can only with much additional care be made to move along, so, methinks, the body of the Tathagata can only be kept going with much additional care. It is only, Ananda, when the Tathagata, ceasing to attend to any outward thing, or to experience any sensation, becomes plunged in that devout meditation of heart which is concerned with no material object — it is only then that the body of the Tathagata is at ease.

33. "Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the truth as a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the truth. Look not for refuge to any one besides yourselves. And how, Ananda, is a brother to be a lamp unto himself, a refuge to himself, betaking himself to no external refuge, holding fast to the truth as a lamp, holding fast as a refuge to the truth, looking not for refuge to any one besides himself?

34. "Herein, O Ananda, let a brother, as he dwells in the body, so regard the body that he, being strenuous, thoughtful, and mindful, may, whilst in the world, overcome the grief which arises from bodily craving — while subject to sensations

let him continue so to regard the sensations that he, being strenuous, thoughtful, and mindful, may, whilst in the world, overcome the grief which arises from the sensations — and so, also, as he thinks, or reasons, or feels, let him overcome the grief which arises from the craving due to ideas, or to reasoning, or to feeling.

35. "And whosoever, Ananda, either now or after I am dead, shall be a lamp unto themselves, and a refuge unto themselves, shall betake themselves to no external refuge, but holding fast to the truth as their lamp, and holding fast as their refuge to the truth, shall look not for refuge to any one besides themselves — it is they, Ananda, among my bhikkus, who shall reach the very topmost Height! — but they must be anxious to learn."

End of the Second Portion for Recitation.

CHAPTER III

1. Now the Blessed One robed himself early in the morning, and taking his bowl in the robe, went into Vesali for alms, and when he returned he sat down on the seat prepared for him, and after he had finished eating the rice he addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: "Take up the mat, Ananda; I will go to spend the day at the Kapala Ketiya."

"So be it, Lord!" said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One. And taking up the mat he followed step for step behind the Blessed One.

2. So the Blessed One proceeded to the Kapala Ketiya, and when he had come there he sat down on the mat spread out for him, and the venerable Ananda took his seat respectfully beside him. Then the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: "How delightful a spot, Ananda, is Vesali, and the Udena Ketiya, and the Gotamaka Ketiya, and the Sattambaka Ketiya, and the Bahuputta Ketiya, and the Sarandada Ketiya, and the Kapala Ketiya.

3. "Ananda! whosoever has thought out, developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi,¹ and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of mental advancement, and as a basis for edification, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of the kalpa which had yet to run. Now the Tathagata has thought them out, and thoroughly practised and developed them [in all respects as just more fully described], and he could, therefore, should he desire it, live on yet for a kalpa, or for that portion of the kalpa which has yet to run."

4. But even though a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given by the Blessed One, the venerable Ananda was incapable of comprehending them; and he besought not the Blessed One, saying, "Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the kalpa! Live on through the kalpa, O Blessed One! for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men!" So far was his heart possessed by the Evil One.

5. A second and a third time did the Blessed One [say the same thing, and a second and a third time was Ananda's heart thus hardened].

6. Now the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: "You may leave me, Ananda, awhile, and do whatever seemeth to thee fit."

¹*Iddhi*. The four paths are: (1) will; (2) effort; (3) thought; and (4) investigation, each united to earnest thought and the struggle against sin. The Iddhi reached by them is supposed in works on Buddhism to be a bodily condition (power of flying, etc.), by which the body rose superior to all the ordinary limitations of matter—a bodily condition corresponding to the mental condition of exaltation and power by which it was reached. On this curiously perverted exaggeration of the real influence of the mind over the body see, further, the translator's "Buddhism," pages 174-177. Two of the string of participles—*yanikata*, which may possibly mean "made use of as a vehicle," and *susamaraddha*, "most thoroughly ascended up to"—might seem to allude to Iddhi as a power of flying bodily through the air. But the whole set of participles is used elsewhere of conditions of mind highly esteemed among the Buddhists, and incapable of giving support to any such allusion.

"So be it, Lord!" said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed, and rising from his seat he saluted the Blessed One, and passing him on the right, sat down at the foot of a certain tree not far off thence.

7. Now not long after the venerable Ananda had been gone, Mara, the Evil One, approached the Blessed One, and stood beside him. And so standing there, he addressed the Blessed One in these words:

"Pass away now, Lord, from existence; let the Blessed One now die. Now is the time for the Blessed One to pass away — even according to the word which the Blessed One spoke when he said:² 'I shall not die, O Evil One! until the brethren and sisters of the order, and until the lay-disciples of either sex³ shall have become true hearers, wise and well-trained, ready and learned, versed in the Scriptures, fulfilling all the greater and the lesser duties, correct in life, walking according to the precepts — until they, having thus themselves learned the doctrine, shall be able to tell others of it, preach it, and make it known, establish it, open it, minutely explain it and make it clear — until they, when others start vain doctrine, shall be able by the truth to vanquish and refute it, and so to spread the wonder-working truth abroad!'

8. "And now, Lord, the brethren and sisters of the order and the lay-disciples of either sex have become [all this], are able to do [all this]. Pass away now therefore, Lord, from existence; let the Blessed One now die! The time has come for the Blessed One to pass away — even according to the word which he spake when he said, 'I shall not die, O Evil One! until this pure religion of mine shall have become successful, prosperous, wide-spread, and popu-

² The words here quoted were spoken by the Buddha, after he had been enjoying the first bliss of Nirvana, under the shepherd's Nigrodha tree (see my "Buddhist Birth Stories," pages 109-111). The Evil One then also tempted him to die (see below, section 43), and this was his reply.

³ The whole paragraph is repeated, here and below, for each of these classes of persons.

lar in all its full extent — until, in a word, it shall have been well proclaimed to men.' And now, Lord, this pure religion of thine has become [all this]. Pass away now therefore, Lord, from existence; let the Blessed One now die! The time has come for the Blessed One to pass away!"

9. And when he had thus spoken, the Blessed One addressed Mara, the Evil One, and said: "O Evil One! make thyself happy, the final extinction of the Tathagata shall take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathagata will die!"

10. Thus the Blessed One while at the Kapala Ketiya deliberately and consciously rejected the rest of his allotted sum of life. And on his so rejecting it there arose a mighty earthquake, awful and terrible, and the thunders of heaven burst forth. And when the Blessed One beheld this, he broke out at that time into this hymn of exultation:

"His sum of life the sage renounced,
The cause of life immeasurable or small;
With inward joy and calm, he broke,
Like coat of mail, his life's own cause!"

11. Now the following thought occurred to the venerable Ananda: "Wonderful indeed and marvelous is it that this mighty earthquake should arise, awful and terrible, and that the thunders of heaven should burst forth! What may be the proximate, what the remote cause of the appearance of this earthquake?"

12. Then the venerable Ananda went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and did obeisance to the Blessed One, and seated himself respectfully at one side, and said: "Wonderful indeed and marvelous is it that this mighty earthquake should arise, awful and terrible, and that the thunders of heaven should burst forth! What may be the proximate, what the remote cause of the appearance of this earthquake?"

13. "Eight are the proximate, eight the remote causes, Ananda, for the appearance of a mighty earthquake. What are the eight? This great earth, Ananda, is established on

water, the water on wind, and the wind rests upon space. And at such a time, Ananda, as the mighty winds blow, the waters are shaken by the mighty winds as they blow, and by the moving water the earth is shaken. These are the first causes, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

14. "Again, Ananda, a Samana, or a brahmin of great intellectual power, and who has the feelings of his heart well under his control; or a god or fairy (*devata*⁴) of great might and power—when such a one by intense meditation of the infinite idea of earth or the infinite idea of water has succeeded in realizing the comparative value of things⁵

⁴ *Devata* is a fairy, god, genius, or angel. I am at a loss how to render this word without conveying an erroneous impression to those not familiar with ancient ideas, and specially with ancient Buddhist ideas, of the spirit-world. It includes gods of all sorts; tree and river nymphs; the kindly fairies or ghosts who haunt houses; spirits in the ground; the angels who minister at the great renunciation, the temptation, and the death of the Buddha; the guardian angels who watch over men, and towns, and countries; and many other similar beings. "Celestial being" would be wholly inapplicable, for instance, to the creatures referred to in the curious passage above. "Super-human being" would be an inaccurate rendering; for all these light and airy shapes come below, and after, man in the Buddhist order of precedence. "Spirit" being used of the soul inside the human body, and of the human soul after it has left the body, and figuratively of mental faculties—none of which is included under *devata*—would suggest ideas inconsistent with that of the Pali word. As there is therefore no appropriate general word, I have chosen, for each passage where the expression occurs, the word used in English of the special class more particularly referred to in the passage of the text. Here all kinds of *devatas* being referred to, and there being no word in English for them all, I have ventured to put the word *devata* into my version, and to trouble the reader with this note.

⁵ Buddhaghosa goes on, as a note to this, to tell a long story how Sangharakkhita Samanera attained Arahatsip on the day of his admission to the order; and at once proceeded to heaven, and standing on the pinnacle of the palace of the king of the gods, shook the whole place with his big toe; to the great consternation and annoyance of the exalted dwellers therein! There is no doubt a real truth in the idea that deep thought can shake the universe, and make the palaces of the gods to tremble, just as faith is said, in Matthew xxi. 21, to be able to remove mountains, and cause them to be cast into the sea. But these figurative expressions have, in Buddhism, become a fruitful soil for the outgrowth of superstitions and misunderstandings; and the train of early Buddhist speculation in this field has yet to be elucidated.

he can make this earth move and tremble and be shaken violently. These are the second causes, proximate or remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

15. "Again, Ananda, when a Bodhisatta⁶ consciously and deliberately leaves his temporary form in the heaven of delight and descends into his mother's womb, then is this earth made to quake and tremble and is shaken violently. These are the third causes, proximate or remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.⁷

16. "Again, Ananda, when a Bodhisatta deliberately and consciously quits his mother's womb, then the earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the fourth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

17. "Again, Ananda, when a Tathagata arrives at the supreme and perfect enlightenment, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the fifth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

18. "Again, Ananda, when a Tathagata founds the sublime kingdom of righteousness, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the sixth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

19. "Again, Ananda, when a Tathagata consciously and deliberately rejects the remainder of his life, then this earth

⁶ A Bodhisatta is a soul capable of becoming a Buddha. There are other Bodhisattas besides the one who became incarnate as Gotama, though he is the one usually so mentioned.

⁷ The Bodhisatta's voluntary incarnation is looked upon by the Buddhists as a great act of renunciation, and curious legends have gathered about it. One is that on the night when she conceived his mother dreamed that a white elephant entered her side. The account will be found at length in my "Buddhist Birth Stories," and the earthquake is there mentioned in terms identical with those in the text. The sacred event is also one of those represented on the ancient bas-reliefs round the Bharhut Thupa, a full description of which will be found in General Cunningham's most interesting work, "The Stupa of Bharhut." As I have pointed out in "Buddhism," the white elephant legend is one of those hallowed sun stories by which half-converted Hindus have striven to embellish the life-story of the Teacher whose followers they had become.

quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the seventh cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

20. "Again, Ananda, when a Tathagata passes entirely away with that utter passing away in which nothing whatever is left behind, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the eighth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

21. "Now of eight kinds, Ananda, are these assemblies. Which are the eight?⁸ Assemblies of nobles, Brâhmanas, householders, and Samanas, and the angel hosts of the Guardian Angels, the Great Thirty-Three, Mara, and Brâhmâ.

22. "Now I call to mind, Ananda, how when I used to enter into an assembly of many hundred nobles, before I had seated myself there or talked to them or started a conversation with them, I used to become in color like unto their color, and in voice like unto their voice. Then with religious discourse I used to instruct, incite, and quicken them, and fill them with gladness. But they knew me not when I spoke, and would say, 'Who may this be who thus speaks? a man or a god?' Then having instructed, incited, quickened, and gladdened them with religious discourse, I would vanish away. But they knew me not even when I vanished away; and would say, 'Who may this be who has thus vanished away? a man or a god?'"

23. [And in the same words the Blessed One spake of how he had been used to enter into assemblies of each of the other of the eight kinds, and of how he had not been made known to them either in speaking or in vanishing away.] "Now these, Ananda, are the eight assemblies."

24. "Now these, Ananda, are the eight positions of mastery [over the delusion arising from the apparent permanence of external things⁹]. What are the eight?

⁸ The connection, or rather want of connection, between this and the last paragraph seems to me to be very suggestive as to the way in which the Sutta was composed. The narrative is resumed at section 43.

⁹ This and the next paragraph are based upon the Buddhist belief

25. "When a man having subjectively the idea of form sees externally forms which are finite, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees — this is the first position of mastery.

26. "When a man having subjectively the idea of form sees externally forms which are boundless, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees — this is the second position of mastery.

27. "When a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms which are finite, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees — this is the third position of mastery.

28. "When a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms which are boundless, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees — this is the fourth position of mastery.

29. "When a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms that are blue in color, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue — just, for instance, as the Umma flower is blue in color, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue; or, again, as that fine muslin of Benares which, on whichever side you look at it, is blue in color, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue — when a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms which, just in that way, are blue, blue in color, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees — that is the fifth position of mastery."

as to the long-vexed question between the Indian schools who represented more or less closely the European Idealists and Realists. When cleared of the many repetitions inserted for the benefit of the repeaters or reciters, the fundamental idea seems to be that the great necessity is to get rid of the delusion that what one sees and feels is real and permanent. Nothing is real and permanent but character.

The so-called eight Positions of Mastery are merely an expansion of the first two of the following eight Stages of Deliverance.

30-32. [The sixth, seventh, and eighth positions of mastery are explained in words identical with those used to explain the fifth; save that yellow, red, and white are respectively substituted throughout for blue; and the Kanikara flower, the Bandhu-givaka flower, and the morning star are respectively substituted for the Umma flower, as the first of the two objects given as examples.]

33. "Now these stages of deliverance, Ananda [from the hindrance to thought arising from the sensations and ideas due to external forms ¹⁰], are eight in number. Which are the eight?

34. "A man possessed with the idea of form sees forms — this is the first stage of deliverance.

35. "Without the subjective idea of form, he sees forms externally — this is the second stage of deliverance.

36. "With the thought 'it is well,' he becomes intent upon what he sees — this is the third stage of deliverance.

37. "By passing quite beyond all idea of form, by putting an end to all idea of resistance, by paying no attention to the idea of distinction, he, thinking 'it is all infinite space,' reaches mentally and remains in the state of mind in which the idea of the infinity of space is the only idea that is present — this is the fourth stage of deliverance.

38. "By passing quite beyond all idea of space being the infinite basis, he, thinking 'it is all infinite reason,' reaches mentally and remains in the state of mind to which the infinity of reason is alone present — this is the fifth stage of deliverance.

39. "By passing quite beyond the mere consciousness of the infinity of reason, he, thinking 'nothing at all exists,' reaches mentally and remains in the state of mind to which

¹⁰ These are the *Attha Vimokkha*. Buddhaghosa has no comment upon them; merely saying, "The passage on the Vimokkhas is easy to understand"—which is tantalizing. The last five Vimokkhas occur again below, in Chap. VI, sections 11-13, where it is clear that they are used to express the progress through deep meditation, into absent-mindedness, abstraction, and being sunk in thought, until finally the thinker falls into actual trance.

nothing at all is specially present — this is the sixth stage of deliverance.

40. "By passing quite beyond all idea of nothingness he reaches mentally and remains in the state of mind to which neither ideas nor the absence of ideas are specially present — this is the seventh stage of deliverance.

41. "By passing quite beyond the state of 'neither ideas nor the absence of ideas' he reaches mentally and remains in the state of mind in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be — this is the eighth stage of deliverance.

42. "Now these, Ananda, are the eight stages of deliverance.

43. "On one occasion, Ananda, I was resting under the shepherd's Nigrodha tree on the bank of the river Nerangara immediately after having reached this great enlightenment. Then Mara, the Evil One, came, Ananda, to the place where I was, and standing beside me he addressed me in the words: 'Pass away now, Lord, from existence! Let the Blessed One now die! Now is the time for the Blessed One to pass away!'

44. "And when he had thus spoken, Ananda, I addressed Mara, the Evil One, and said: 'I shall not die, O Evil One! until not only the brethren and sisters of the order, but also the lay-disciples of either sex shall have become true hearers, wise and well-trained, ready and learned, versed in the Scriptures, fulfilling all the greater and the lesser duties, correct in life, walking according to the precepts — until they, having thus themselves learned the doctrine, shall be able to tell others of it, preach it, make it known, establish it, open it, minutely explain it and make it clear — until they, when others start vain doctrine, shall be able by the truth to vanquish and refute it, and so to spread the wonder-working truth abroad!

45. "'I shall not die until this pure religion of mine shall have become successful, prosperous, wide-spread, and popular in all its full extent — until, in a word, it shall have been well proclaimed among men!'

46. "And now again to-day, Ananda, at the Kapala Ketiya, Mara, the Evil One, came to the place where I was, and standing beside me addressed me [in the same words].

47. "And when he had thus spoken, Ananda, I answered him and said: 'Make thyself happy, the final extinction of the Tathagata shall take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathagata will die!'

48. "Thus, Ananda, the Tathagata has now to-day at the Kapala Ketiya consciously and deliberately rejected the rest of his allotted term of life."

49. And when he had thus spoken the venerable Ananda addressed the Blessed One, and said: "Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the kalpa! live on through the kalpa, O Blessed One! for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men!"

50. "Enough now, Ananda, beseech not the Tathagata!" was the reply. "The time for making such request is past."

51. And again, the second time, the venerable Ananda besought the Blessed One [in the same words. And he received from the Blessed One the same reply].

52. And again, the third time, the venerable Ananda besought the Blessed One [in the same words].

53. "Hast thou faith, Ananda, in the wisdom of the Tathagata?"

"Even so, Lord!"

"Now why, then, Ananda, dost thou trouble the Tathagata even until the third time?"

54. "From his own mouth have I heard from the Blessed One, from his own mouth have I received this saying, 'Who-soever has thought out, Ananda, and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of mental advancement, and as a basis for edification — he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run.' Now the Tathagata has thought out and

thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run."

55. "Hast thou faith, Ananda?"

"Even so, Lord!"

"Then, O Ananda, thine is the fault, thine is the offense — in that when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee by the Tathagata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besoughtest not the Tathagata, saying, 'Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the kalpa. Live on, O Blessed One! through the kalpa for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men.' If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathagata, the Tathagata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ananda, is the fault, thine is the offense!

56. "On one occasion, Ananda, I was dwelling at Ragagaha, on the hill called the Vulture's Peak. Now there, Ananda, I spoke to thee and said: 'How pleasant a spot, Ananda, is Ragagaha; how pleasant is this Vulture's Peak.' Whosoever has thought out, Ananda, and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of mental advancement, and as a basis for edification — he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run. But even when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee by the Tathagata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besoughtest not the Tathagata, saying, 'Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the kalpa. Live on, O Blessed One! through the kalpa for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men.' If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathagata, the Tathagata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he

would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ananda, is the fault, thine is the offense!

57. "On one occasion, Ananda, I was dwelling at that same Ragagaha in the Banyan Grove — on one occasion at that same Ragagaha at the Robbers' Cliff — on one occasion at that same Ragagaha in the Sattapanni cave on the slope of Mount Vebhara — on one occasion at that same Ragagaha at the Black Rock on the slope of Mount Isigili — on one occasion at that same Ragagaha in the Sitavana Grove in the mountain cave Sappasondika — on one occasion at that same Ragagaha in the Tapoda Grove — on one occasion at that same Ragagaha in the Bamboo Grove in the Squirrels' Feeding Ground — on one occasion at that same Ragagaha in Givaka's Mango Grove — on one occasion at that same Ragagaha in the Deer Forest at Maddakukkhī.

58. "Now there too, Ananda, I spoke to thee, and said: 'How pleasant, Ananda, is Ragagaha; how pleasant the Vulture's Peak; how pleasant the Banyan-tree of Gotama; how pleasant the Robbers' Cliff; how pleasant the Sattapanni cave on the slope of Mount Vebhara; how pleasant the Black Rock on the slope of Mount Isigili; how pleasant the mountain cave of Sappasondika in the Sitavana Grove; how pleasant the Tapoda Grove; how pleasant the Squirrels' Feeding Ground in the Bamboo Grove; how pleasant Givaka's Mango Grove; how pleasant the Deer Forest at Maddakukkhī!'

59. "'Whosoever, Ananda, has thought out and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of mental advancement and as a basis for edification — he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run.' Now the Tathagata has thought out and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run.

60. "On one occasion, Ananda, I was residing here at

Vesali at the Udena Ketiya. And there too, Ananda, I spoke to thee, and said: 'How pleasant, Ananda, is Vesali; how pleasant the Udena Ketiya. Whosoever, Ananda, has thought out and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of mental advancement and as a basis for edification — he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run.' Now the Tathagata has thought out and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run.

61. "On one occasion, Ananda, I was dwelling here at Vesali at the Gotamaka Ketiya — on one occasion here at Vesali at the Sattamba Ketiya — on one occasion here at Vesali at the Bahuputta Ketiya — on one occasion here at Vesali at the Sarandada Ketiya [and on each occasion I spoke to thee, Ananda, in the same words].

62. "And now to-day, Ananda, at the Kapala Ketiya, I spoke to thee, and said: 'How pleasant, Ananda, is Vesali; how pleasant the Udena Ketiya; how pleasant the Gotamaka Ketiya; how pleasant the Sattamba Ketiya; how pleasant the Bahuputta Ketiya; how pleasant the Sarandada Ketiya. Whosoever, Ananda, has thought out and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of mental advancement, and as a basis for edification — he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run. Now the Tathagata has thought and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run.'

63. "But now, Ananda, have I not formerly declared to you that it is in the very nature of all things, near and dear unto us, that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How then, Ananda, can this

be possible — whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organized, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution — how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist! And this mortal being, Ananda, has been relinquished, cast away, renounced, rejected, and abandoned by the Tathagata. The remaining sum of life has been surrendered by him. Verily, the word has gone forth from the Tathagata, saying, ‘The final extinction of the Tathagata shall take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathagata will die!’ That the Tathagata for the sake of living should repent him again of that saying — this can no wise be! ¹¹

64. “Come, Ananda, let us go to the Kutagara Hall, to the Mahavana.”

“Even so, Lord!” said the venerable Ananda, in assent to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with Ananda with him, to the Mahavana to the Kutagara Hall: and when he had arrived there he addressed the venerable Ananda, and said:

“Go now, Ananda, and assemble in the Service Hall such of the brethren as reside in the neighborhood of Vesali.”

“Even so, Lord,” said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One. And when he had assembled in the Service Hall such of the brethren as resided in the neighborhood of Vesali, he went to the Blessed One and saluted him and stood beside him. And standing beside him, he addressed the Blessed One, and said:

“Lord! the assembly of the brethren has met together. Let the Blessed One do even as seemeth to him fit.”

65. Then the Blessed One proceeded to the Service Hall,

¹¹ I do not understand the connection of ideas between this paragraph and the idea repeated with such tedious iteration in the preceding paragraphs. The two seem to be in marked contrast, if not in absolute contradiction. Perhaps we have here the older tradition; and certainly the latter utterance of the two is more in accordance with the general impression of the character, and with the other sayings, of Gotama as handed down in the Pali Pitakas.

and sat down there on the mat spread out for him. And when he was seated the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said:

“Therefore, O brethren — ye to whom the truths I have perceived have been made known by me — having thoroughly made yourselves masters of them, practise them, meditate upon them, and spread them abroad; in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men!

“Which then, O brethren, are the truths which, when I had perceived, I made known to you, which, when you have mastered it behooves you to practise, meditate upon, and spread abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men?

“They are these:

The four earnest meditations.

The fourfold great struggle against sin.

The four roads to saintship.

The five moral powers.

The five organs of spiritual sense.

The seven kinds of wisdom, and

The noble eightfold path.

These, O brethren, are the truths which, when I had perceived, I made known to you, which, when you have mastered it behooves you to practise, meditate upon, and spread abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men!”

66. And the Blessed One exhorted the brethren, and said:

“Behold now, O brethren, I exhort you, saying, ‘All com-

ponent things must grow old. Work out your salvation with diligence. The final extinction of the Tathagata will take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathagata will die!'

"My age is now full ripe, my life draws to its close:
I leave you, I depart, relying on myself alone!
Be earnest then, O brethren! holy, full of thought!
Be steadfast in resolve! Keep watch o'er your own hearts!
Who wearies not, but holds fast to this truth and law,¹²
Shall cross this sea of life, shall make an end of grief."

End of the Third Portion for Recitation.¹³

¹² *Dhamma* and *vinaya*. The Buddhist religion, as just summarized, and the regulations of the order.

¹³ It is of great interest to notice what are the points upon which Gotama, in this last address to his disciples, and at the solemn time when death was so near at hand, is reported to have laid such emphatic stress. Unfortunately we have only a fragment of the address, and, as it would seem from its commencement, only the closing fragment. This, however, is in the form of a summary, consisting of an enumeration of certain aggregates, the details of which must have been as familiar to the early Buddhists as the details of similar numerical terms—such as the ten commandments, the twelve tribes, the seven deadly sins, the four gospels, and so on—afterward were to the Christians. This summary of the Buddha's last address may fairly be taken as a summary of Buddhism, which thus appears to be simply a system of earnest self-culture and self-control.

The following are the details of the aggregate technical terms used in the above summary, but it will be understood that the English equivalents used give rather a general than an exact representation of the ideas expressed by the Pali ones.

The four Earnest Meditations (*kattaro Satipatthana*) are—

1. Meditation on the body.
2. Meditation on the sensations.
3. Meditation on the ideas.
4. Meditation on reason and character.

The fourfold Great Struggle against sin is divided into *kattaro Samappadhana*, which are—

1. The struggle to prevent sinfulness arising.
2. The struggle to put away sinful states which have arisen.
3. The struggle to produce goodness not previously existing.
4. The struggle to increase goodness when it does exist.

The four Roads to Saintship are four means by which Iddhi is to be acquired. They are the *Kattaro Iddhipada*:

1. The will to acquire it united to earnest meditation and the struggle against sin.

CHAPTER IV

1. Now the Blessed One early in the morning robed himself, and, taking his bowl, entered Vesali for alms: and when he had passed through Vesali, and had eaten his meal, and was returning from his alms-seeking, he gazed at Vesali with an elephant look ¹ and addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: "This will be the last time, Ananda, that the Tathagata will behold Vesali. Come, Ananda, let us go on to Bhandagama."

"Even so, Lord!" said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

And the Blessed One proceeded with a great company of

2. The necessary exertion united to earnest meditation and the struggle against sin.

3. The necessary preparation of the heart united to earnest meditation and the struggle against sin.

4. Investigation united to earnest meditation and the struggle against sin.

The five moral powers (*panka Balani*) are said to be the same as the next class, called organs (*Indriyani*). It is no doubt most remarkable that, in a summary like this, two classes out of seven should be absolutely identical except in name. The difference in name is altogether too unimportant to account, by itself, for the distinction made. Either the currently accepted explanation of one of the two aggregate terms must be incorrect, or we must look for some explanation of the repetition other than the mere desire to record the double title. Is it impossible that the one class was split into two to bring the number of the classes up to the sacred number seven, corresponding to the seven *Ratanas* of a *Kakkavatti*?

The details of both classes are —

1. Faith. 2. Energy. 3. Thought. 4. Contemplation. 5. Wisdom.

The seven kinds of Wisdom (*satta Bogghanga*) are —

1. Energy. 2. Thought. 3. Contemplation. 4. Investigation of scripture. 5. Joy. 6. Repose. 7. Serenity.

The Noble Eightfold Path (*ariyo atthangiko Maggo*) forms the subject of the Dhamma-kakka-ppavattana Sutta, translated in this volume, and consists of —

1. Right views. 2. High aims. 3. Right speech. 4. Upright conduct. 5. A harmless livelihood. 6. Perseverance in well-doing. 7. Intellectual activity. 8. Earnest thought.

¹ The Buddhas were accustomed, says Buddhaghosa, on looking backward to turn the whole body round as an elephant does; because the bones in their neck were firmly fixed, more so than those of ordinary men!

the brethren to Bhandagama; and there the Blessed One stayed in the village itself.

2. There the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: "It is through not understanding and grasping four truths, O brethren, that we have had to run so long, to wander so long in this weary path of transmigration — both you and I.

"And what are these four? The noble conduct of life, the noble earnestness in meditation, the noble kind of wisdom, and the noble salvation of freedom. But when noble conduct is realized and known, when noble meditation is realized and known, when noble wisdom is realized and known, when noble freedom is realized and known — then is the craving for existence rooted out, that which leads to renewed existence is destroyed, and there is no more birth."

3. Thus spake the Blessed One; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, then again the teacher said:²

"Righteousness, earnest thought, wisdom, and freedom sublime —

These are the truths realized by Gotama, far-renowned.

Knowing them, he, the knower, proclaimed the truth to the brethren.

The master with eye divine, the quencher of griefs, must die!"

4. There too, while staying at Bhandagama, the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious discourse with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. "Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils — that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance."

5. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Bhandagama as long as he desired, he addressed the venerable

² This is merely a stock phrase for introducing verses which repeat the idea of the preceding phrase (see above, section 32). It is an instructive sign of the state of mind in which such records are put together, that these verses could be ascribed to Gotama himself without any feeling of the incongruity involved.

Ananda, and said: "Come, Ananda, let us go on to Hatthigama."

"Even so, Lord!" said Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Hatthigama.

6. [And in similar words it is then related how the Blessed One went to Ambagama, to Gambu-gama, and to Bhoganagara.]

7. Now there at Bhoganagara the Blessed One stayed at the Ananda Ketiya.

There the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: "I will teach you, O brethren, these four Great References. Listen thereto, and give good heed, and I will speak."

"Even so, Lord!" said the brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One, and the Blessed One spoke as follows:

8. "In the first place, brethren, a brother may say thus: 'From the mouth of the Blessed One himself have I heard, from his own mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this is the law, this the teaching of the Master.' The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the scripture and compared with the rules of the order. If when so compared they do not harmonize with the scripture, and do not fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, 'Verily, this is not the word of the Blessed One, and has been wrongly grasped by that brother!' Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonize with the scripture and fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, 'Verily, this is the word of the Blessed One, and has been well grasped by that brother.' This, brethren, you should receive as the first Great Reference.

9. "Again, brethren, a brother may say thus: 'In such and such a dwelling-place there is a company of the brethren

with their elders and leaders. From the mouth of that company have I heard, face to face have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master.' The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the scripture and compared with the rules of the order. If when so compared they do not harmonize with the scripture, and do not fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, 'Verily, this is not the word of the Blessed One, and has been wrongly grasped by that company of brethren. Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonize with the scripture and fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, 'Verily, this is the word of the Blessed One, and has been well grasped by that company of the brethren.' This, brethren, you should receive as the second Great Reference.

10. "Again, brethren, a brother may say thus: 'In such and such a dwelling-place there are dwelling many elders of the order, deeply read, holding the faith as handed down by tradition, versed in the truths, versed in the regulations of the order, versed in the summaries of the doctrines and the law. From the mouth of those elders have I heard, from their mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master.' The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the scripture and compared with the rules of the order. If when so compared they do not harmonize with the scripture, and do not fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, 'Verily, this is not the word of the Blessed One, and has been wrongly grasped by those elders.' Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonize with the scripture and fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, 'Verily, this is the word of the Blessed One, and has

been well grasped by those elders.' This, brethren, you should receive as the third Great Reference.

11. "Again, brethren, a brother may say, 'In such and such a dwelling-place there is there living a brother, deeply read, holding the faith as handed down by tradition, versed in the truths, versed in the regulations of the order, versed in the summaries of the doctrines and the law. From the mouth of that elder have I heard, from his mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master.' The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the scripture and compared with the rules of the order. If when so compared they do not harmonize with the scripture, and do not fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, 'Verily, this is not the word of the Blessed One, and has been wrongly grasped by that brother.' Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonize with the scripture and fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, 'Verily, this is the word of the Blessed One, and has been well grasped by that brother.' This, brethren, you should receive as the fourth Great Reference.

"These, brethren, are the Four Great References."

12. There, too, the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. "Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils — that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance."

13. Now when the Blessed One had remained as long as he desired at Bhoga-gama, he addressed the venerable

Ananda, and said: "Come, Ananda, let us go on to Pava."

"Even so, Lord!" said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One. And the Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Pava.

And there at Pava the Blessed One stayed at the mango grove of Kunda, who was by family a smith.

14. Now Kunda, the worker in metals, heard that the Blessed One had come to Pava, and was staying there in his mango grove.

And Kunda, the worker in metals, went to the place where the Blessed One was, and saluting him took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was thus seated, the Blessed One instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened him with religious discourse.

15. Then he, instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened by the religious discourse, addressed the Blessed One, and said: "May the Blessed One do me the honor of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at my house to-morrow."

And the Blessed One signified, by silence, his consent.

16. Then seeing that the Blessed One had consented, Kunda, the worker in metals, rose from his seat and bowed down before the Blessed One, and keeping him on his right hand as he passed him, departed thence.

17. Now at the end of the night, Kunda, the worker in metals, made ready in his dwelling-place sweet rice and cakes, and a quantity of dried boar's flesh. And he announced the hour to the Blessed One, saying, "The hour, Lord, has come, and the meal is ready."

18. And the Blessed One robed himself early in the morning, and taking his bowl, went with the brethren to the dwelling-place of Kunda, the worker in metals. When he had come thither he seated himself on the seat prepared for him. And when he was seated he addressed Kunda, the worker in metals, and said: "As to the dried boar's flesh you have made ready, serve me with it, Kunda; and as to the other food, the sweet rice and cakes, serve the brethren with it."

"Even so, Lord!" said Kunda, the worker in metals, in assent, to the Blessed One. And the dried boar's flesh he had made ready he served to the Blessed One; whilst the other food, the sweet rice and cakes, he served to the members of the order.

19. Now the Blessed One addressed Kunda, the worker in metals, and said: "Whatever dried boar's flesh, Kunda, is left over to thee, that bury in a hole. I see no one, Kunda, on earth nor in Mara's heaven, nor in Brâhmâ's heaven, no one among Samanas and Brâhmanas, among gods and men, by whom, when he has eaten it, that food can be assimilated, save by the Tathagata."

"Even so, Lord!" said Kunda, the worker in metals, in assent, to the Blessed One. And whatever dried boar's flesh remained over, that he buried in a hole.

20. And he went to the place where the Blessed One was; and when he had come there, took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was seated, the Blessed One instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened Kunda, the worker in metals, with religious discourse. And the Blessed One then rose from his seat and departed thence.

21. Now when the Blessed One had eaten the food prepared by Kunda, the worker in metal, there fell upon him a dire sickness, the disease of dysentery, and sharp pain came upon him, even unto death. But the Blessed One, mindful and self-possessed, bore it without complaint.

22. And the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: "Come, Ananda, let us go on to Kusinara."

"Even so, Lord!" said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

23. When he had eaten Kunda's food,
The copper-smith's — thus have I heard —
He bore with fortitude the pain,
The sharp pain even unto death!

And from the dried flesh of the boar, as soon as he had
eaten it,
There fell upon the teacher sickness dire,

Then after nature was relieved the Blessed One announced and said:

“I now am going on to Kusinara.”

24. Now the Blessed One went aside from the path to the foot of a certain tree; and when he had come there he addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: “Fold, I pray you, Ananda, the robe; and spread it out for me. I am weary, Ananda, and must rest awhile!”

“Even so, Lord!” said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One, and spread out the robe folded fourfold:

25. And the Blessed One seated himself on the seat prepared for him; and when he was seated, he addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: “Fetch me, I pray you, Ananda, some water. I am thirsty, Ananda, and would drink.”

26. When he had thus spoken, the venerable Ananda said to the Blessed One: “But just now, Lord, about five hundred carts have gone over. That water stirred up by the wheels has become shallow and flows fouled and turbid. This river Kakuttha, Lord, not far off, is clear and pleasant, cool and transparent, easy to get down into, and delightful. There the Blessed One may both drink the water, and cool his limbs.”

27. Again the second time the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: “Fetch me, I pray you, Ananda, some water. I am thirsty, Ananda, and would drink.”

28. And again the second time the venerable Ananda said to the Blessed One: “But just now, Lord, about five hundred carts have gone over. That water stirred up by the wheels has become shallow and flows fouled and turbid. This river Kakuttha, Lord, not far off, is clear and pleasant, cool and transparent, easy to get down into, and delightful. There the Blessed One may both drink the water, and cool his limbs.”

29. Again the third time the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: “Fetch me, I pray you,

Ananda, some water. I am thirsty, Ananda, and would drink."

30. "Even so, Lord!" said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One; and taking a bowl he went down to the streamlet. And lo! the streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow, and was flowing fouled and turbid, had begun, when the venerable Ananda came up to it, to flow clear and bright and free from all turbidity.

31. Then Ananda thought: "How wonderful, how marvelous is the great might and power of the Tathagata! For this streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow and flowing foul and turbid, now, as I come up to it, is flowing clear and bright and free from all turbidity."

32. And taking the water in the bowl he returned toward the Blessed One; and when he had come where the Blessed One was he said to him: "How wonderful, how marvelous is the great might and power of the Tathagata! For this streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow and flowing foul and turbid, now, as I come up to it, is flowing clear and bright and free from all turbidity. Let the Blessed One drink the water! Let the Happy One drink the water!"

Then the Blessed One drank of the water.

33. Now at that time a man named Pukkusa, a young Mallian, a disciple of Alara Kalama's, was passing along the high road from Kusinara to Pava.

34. And Pukkusa, the young Mallian, saw the Blessed One seated at the foot of a tree. On seeing him, he went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and when he had come there he saluted the Blessed One, and took his rest respectfully on one side. And when he was seated Pukkusa, the young Mallian, said to the Blessed One: "How wonderful a thing is it, Lord! and how marvelous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm!"

35. "Formerly, Lord, Alara Kalama was once walking along the high road; and leaving the road he sat himself down under a certain tree to rest during the heat of the day. Now, Lord, five hundred carts passed by one after the other, each close to Alara Kalama. And a certain man, who was following close behind that caravan of carts, went up to the place where Alara Kalama was, and when he was come there he spake as follows to Alara Kalama:

"'But, Lord, did you see those five hundred carts go by?'

"'No, indeed, sir, I saw them not.'

"'But, Lord, did you hear the sound of them?'

"'No, indeed, sir, I heard not their sound.'

"'But, Lord, were you then asleep?'

"'No, sir, I was not asleep.'

"'But, Lord, were you then conscious?'

"'Yes, I was conscious, sir.'

"'So that you, Lord, though you were both conscious and awake, neither saw, nor heard the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, and each close to you. Why, Lord, even your robe was sprinkled over with the dust of them!'

"'It is even so, sir.'

36. "Then thought that man: 'How wonderful a thing is it, and how marvelous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm! So much so that a man though being both conscious and awake, neither sees, nor hears the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, and each close to him.'

"And after giving utterance to his deep faith in Alara Kalama, he departed thence."

37. "Now what think you, Pukkusa, which is the more difficult thing either to do or to meet with — that a man being conscious and awake should neither see, nor hear the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, close to him,—or that a man, being conscious and awake, should neither see, nor hear the sound thereof when the falling rain

goes on beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing?"

38. "What in comparison, Lord, can these five hundred carts do, or six or seven or eight or nine or ten hundred, yea, even hundreds and thousands of carts! That certainly is more difficult, both to do and to meet with, that a man being conscious and awake should neither see, nor hear the sound thereof when the falling rain goes on beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing."

39. "Now on one occasion, Pukkusa, I was dwelling at Atuma, and was at the Threshing-floor. And at that time the falling rain began to beat and to splash, and the lightnings to flash forth, and the thunderbolts to crash; and two peasants, brothers, and four oxen were killed. Then, Pukkusa, a great multitude of people went forth from Atuma, and went up to the place where the two peasants, brothers, and the four oxen, lay killed.

40. "Now at that time, Pukkusa, I had gone forth from the Threshing-floor, and was walking up and down thinking at the entrance to the Threshing-floor. And a certain man came, Pukkusa, out of that great multitude of people, up to the place where I was; and when he came up he saluted me, and took his place respectfully on one side.

41. "And as he stood there, Pukkusa, I said to the man:

"'Why then, sir, is this great multitude of people assembled together?'

"'But just now, the falling rain began to beat and to splash, and the lightnings to flash forth, and the thunderbolts to crash; and two peasants, brothers, were killed, and four oxen. Therefore is this great multitude of people gathered together. But where, Lord, were you?'

"'I, sir, have been here all the while.'

"'But, Lord, did you see it?'

"'I, sir, saw nothing.'

"'But, Lord, did you hear it?'

"'I, sir, heard nothing.'

"'Were you then, Lord, asleep?'

“‘I, sir, was not asleep.’

“‘Were you then conscious, Lord?’

“‘Even so, sir.’

“‘So that you, Lord, being conscious and awake, neither saw, nor heard the sound thereof when the falling rain went on beating and splashing, and the lightnings were flashing forth, and the thunderbolts were crashing?’

“‘That is so, sir.’

42. “Then, Pukkusa, the thought occurred to that man:

“‘How wonderful a thing is it, and marvelous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm! — so that a man being conscious and awake neither sees, nor hears the sound thereof when the falling rain is beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing.’ And after giving utterance to his deep faith in me, he departed from me with the customary demonstrations of respect.”

43. And when he had thus spoken Pukkusa, the young Mallian, addressed the Blessed One in these words: “Now I, Lord, as to the faith that I had in Alara Kalama, that I winnow away as in a mighty wind, and wash it away as in a swiftly running stream. Most excellent, Lord, are the words of thy mouth, most excellent! Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness, so that those who have eyes can see external forms — just even so, Lord, has the truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the Blessed One. And I, even I, betake myself, Lord, to the Blessed One as my refuge, to the Truth, and to the Brotherhood. May the Blessed One accept me as a disciple, as a true believer, from this day forth, as long as life endures!”³

44. Now Pukkusa, the young Mallian, addressed a certain

³ This is a stock phrase constituting the final answer of a hitherto unconverted man at the end of one of these argumentative dialogues by which Gotama overcame opposition or expounded the truth. After a discussion of exalted themes it fits in very appropriately; here and elsewhere it is incongruous and strained.

man, and said: "Fetch me, I pray you, my good man, a pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear."

"So be it, sir!" said that man, in assent, to Pukkusa, the young Mallian; and he brought a pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear.

45. And the Mallian Pukkusa presented the pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear, to the Blessed One, saying, "Lord, this pair of robes of burnished cloth of gold is ready for wear. May the Blessed One show me favor and accept it at my hands!"

"In that case, Pukkusa, robe me in one, and Ananda in one."

"Even so, Lord!" said Pukkusa, in assent, to the Blessed One; and in one he robed the Blessed One, and in one, Ananda.

46. Then the Blessed One instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened Pukkusa, the young Mallian, with religious discourse. And Pukkusa, the young Mallian, when he had been instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened by the Blessed One with religious discourse, arose from his seat, and bowed down before the Blessed One; and keeping him on his right hand as he passed him, departed thence.

47. Now not long after the Mallian Pukkusa had gone, the venerable Ananda placed that pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear, on the body of the Blessed One, and when it was so placed on the body of the Blessed One it appeared to have lost its splendor!

48. And the venerable Ananda said to the Blessed One: "How wonderful a thing is it, Lord, and how marvelous, that the color of the skin of the Blessed One should be so clear, so exceeding bright! For when I placed even this pair of robes of burnished cloth of gold and ready for wear on the body of the Blessed One, lo! it seemed as if it had lost its splendor!"

49. "It is even so, Ananda. Ananda, there are two occa-

sions on which the color of the skin of a Tathagata becomes clear and exceeding bright. What are the two?

50. "On the night, Ananda, on which a Tathagata attains to the supreme and perfect insight, and on the night in which he passes finally away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain — on these two occasions the color of the skin of the Tathagata becomes clear and exceeding bright.

51. "And now this day, Ananda, at the third watch of the night, in the Upavattana of Kusinara, in the Sala Grove of the Mallians, between the twin Sala trees, the utter passing away of the Tathagata will take place. Come, Ananda! let us go on to the river Kakuttha."

"Even so, Lord!" said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

52. The pair of robes of cloth of gold,
All burnished, Pukkusa had brought,
Clad on with them the Master then
Shone forth in color like to gold! ⁴

53. Now the Blessed One with a great company of the brethren went on to the river Kakuttha; and when he had come there, he went down into the water and bathed, and drank. And coming up out again on the other side he went on to the mango grove.

54. And when he was come there he addressed the venerable Kundaka, and said: "Fold, I pray you, Kundaka, a

⁴ We have here the commencement of the legend which afterward grew into an account of an actual "transfiguration" of the Buddha. It is very curious that it should have taken place soon after the Buddha had announced to Ananda his approaching death, and that in the Buddhist Sutta it should be connected so closely with that event; for a similar remark applies also to the Transfiguration mentioned in the Gospels. The *Malalankara-vatthu*, for instance, says, "His body appeared shining like a flame. Ananda was exceedingly surprised. Nothing of this kind had, as yet, happened. 'Your exterior appearance,' said he to Buddha, 'is all at once white, shining, and beautiful above all expression.' 'What you say, O Ananda, is perfectly true. There are two occasions [etc., much as above]. The shining light emanating from my body is a certain forerunner of this great event [his Parinibbana].'"

robe in four and spread it out. I am weary, Kundaka, and would lie down."

"Even so, Lord!" said the venerable Kundaka, in assent, to the Blessed One. And he folded a robe in four, and spread it out.

55. And the Blessed One laid himself down on his right side, with one foot resting on the other; and calm and self-possessed, he meditated on the idea of rising up again in due time. And the venerable Kundaka seated himself there in front of the Blessed One.

56. The Buddha to Kakuttha's river came,
Whose clear and pleasant waters limpid flow,
He plunged beneath the stream wearied and worn,
The Buddha without equal in the world!
When he had bathed and drunk, the teacher then
Crossed o'er, the brethren thronging round his steps;
The Blessed Master, preaching the while the truth,
The Mighty Sage came to the mango grove.
There spake he to the brother Kundaka:
"Spread me the fourfold robe out as a couch."
Cheered by the Holy One, he quickly spread
The fourfold robe in order on the ground.
The Master laid him down, wearied and worn;
And there, before him, Kunda took his seat.

57. And the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: "Now it may happen, Ananda, that some one should stir up remorse in Kunda the smith, by saying, 'This is evil to thee, Kunda, and loss to thee in that when the Tathagata had eaten his last meal from thy provision, then he died.' Any such remorse, Ananda, in Kunda the smith should be checked by saying, 'This is good to thee, Kunda, and gain to thee, in that when the Tathagata had eaten his last meal from thy provision, then he died. From the very mouth of the Blessed One, Kunda, have I heard, from his own mouth have I received this saying, "These two offerings of food are of equal fruit, and of equal profit, and of much greater fruit and much greater profit than any other — and

which are the two? The offering of food which, when a Tathagata has eaten, he attains to supreme and perfect insight; and the offering of food which, when a Tathagata has eaten, he passes away by that utter passing away in which nothing whatever remains behind — these two offerings of food are of equal fruit and of equal profit, and of much greater fruit and much greater profit than any others. There has been laid up by Kunda the smith a karma redounding to length of life, redounding to good birth, redounding to good fortune, redounding to good fame, redounding to the inheritance of heaven, and of sovereign power.” In this way, Ananda, should be checked any remorse in Kunda the smith.”

58. Then the Blessed One perceiving how the matter stood, uttered, even at that time, this hymn of exultation:

“To him who gives shall virtue be increased;
In him who curbs himself, no anger can arise;
The righteous man casts off all sinfulness,
And by the rooting out of lust, and bitterness,
And all delusion, doth to Nirvana reach!”

End of the Fourth Portion for Recitation, containing the Episode of Alara.

CHAPTER V

1. Now the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: “Come, Ananda, let us go on to the Sala Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinara, on the farther side of the river Hiranyavati.”

“Even so, Lord!” said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

2. And the Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to the Sala Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinara, on the farther side of the river Hiranyavati: and when he had come there he addressed the venerable Ananda, and said:

3. “Spread over for me, I pray you, Ananda, the couch

with its head to the north, between the twin Sala trees.¹ I am weary, Ananda, and would lie down."

"Even so, Lord!" said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One. And he spread a covering over the couch with its head to the north, between the twin Sala trees. And the Blessed One laid himself down on his right side, with one leg resting on the other; and he was mindful and self-possessed.

4. Now at that time the twin Sala trees were all one mass of bloom with flowers out of season; and all over the body of the Tathagata these dropped and sprinkled and scattered themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly Mandarava flowers, too, and heavenly sandalwood powder came falling from the sky, and all over the body of the Tathagata they descended and sprinkled and scattered themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly music was sounded in the sky, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly songs came wafted from the skies, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old!

5. Then the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: "The twin Sala trees are all one mass of bloom with flowers out of season; all over the body of the Tathagata these drop and sprinkle and scatter themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly Mandarava flowers, too, and heavenly sandalwood powder come falling from the sky, and all over the body of

¹ According to the commentator "tradition says that there was a row of Sala trees at the head (*sisā*) of that couch (*mankā*), and another at its foot, one young Sala tree being close to its head, and another close to its foot. The twin Sala trees were so called because the two trees were equally grown in respect of the roots, trunks, branches, and leaves. There was a couch there in the park for the special use of the periodically elected *raga* of the Mallas, and it was this couch which the Blessed One asked Ananda to make ready." There is no further explanation of the term *uttara-sisakam*, which may have been the name for a slab of wood or stone reserved on great occasions for the use of the leaders of the neighboring republic, but available at other times for passers-by.

the Tathagata they descend and sprinkle and scatter themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly music sounds in the sky, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly songs come wafted from the skies, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old!"

6. "Now it is not thus, Ananda, that the Tathagata is rightly honored, revered, venerated, held sacred or revered. But the brother or the sister, the devout man or the devout woman, who continually fulfils all the greater and the lesser duties, who is correct in life, walking according to the precepts — it is he who rightly honors, reverences, venerates, holds sacred, and reveres the Tathagata with the worthiest homage. Therefore, O Ananda, be ye constant in the fulfilment of the greater and of the lesser duties, and be ye correct in life, walking according to the precepts; and thus, Ananda, should it be taught."

7. Now at that time the venerable Upavana was standing in front of the Blessed One, fanning him. And the Blessed One was not pleased with Upavana, and he said to him: "Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me!"

8. Then this thought sprung up in the mind of the venerable Ananda: "The venerable Upavana has long been in close personal attendance and service on the Blessed One. And now, at the last moment, the Blessed One is not pleased with Upavana, and has said to him, 'Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me!' What may be the cause and what the reason that the Blessed One is not pleased with Upavana, and speaks thus with him?"

9. And the venerable Ananda said to the Blessed One: "The venerable Upavana has long been in close personal attendance and service on the Blessed One. And now, at the last moment, the Blessed One is not pleased with Upavana, and has said to him, 'Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me!' What may be the cause and what the reason that the Blessed One is not pleased with Upavana, and speaks thus with him?"

10. "In great numbers, Ananda, are the gods of the ten world-systems assembled together to behold the Tathagata. For twelve leagues, Ananda, around the Sala Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinara, there is no spot in size even as the pricking of the point of the tip of a hair which is not pervaded by powerful spirits.² And the spirits, Ananda, are murmuring, and say, 'From afar have we come to behold the Tathagata. Few and far between are the Tathagatas, the Arahats Buddhas who appear in the world: and now to-day, in the last watch of the night, the death of a Tathagata will take place; and this eminent brother stands in front of the Tathagata, concealing him, and in his last hour we are prevented from beholding the Tathagata'; thus, Ananda, do the spirits murmur."

11. "But of what kind of spirits is the Blessed One thinking?"

12. "There are spirits, Ananda, in the sky, but of worldly mind, who dishevel their hair and weep, who stretch forth their arms and weep, who fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought: 'Too soon will the Blessed One die! Too soon will the Happy One pass away! Full soon will the Light of the world vanish away!'³

² Buddhaghosa explains that even twenty to sixty angels or gods (*devatayo*) could stand "on a point pricked by the extreme point of a gimlet," without inconveniencing one another. It is most curious to find this exact analogy to the notorious discussion as to how many angels could stand on the point of a needle in a commentary written at just that period of Buddhist history which corresponds to the Middle Ages of Christendom. The passage in the text does not really imply or suggest any such doctrine, though the whole episode is so absurd that the author of the text could not have hesitated to say so, had such an idea been the common belief of the early Buddhists. With these sections should be compared the similar sections in chapter VI, of which these are perhaps merely an echo.

³ It is literally, "the Eye in the world will vanish away," where "Eye" is of course used figuratively of that by the aid of which spiritual truths can be perceived, corresponding exactly to the similar use in Europe of the word "Light." The Master is often called *Kakkhuma*, "He with the Eye," "He of the spiritual Eye" (see, for instance, the last verses in this Sutta), and here by a bold figure of speech he is called the Eye itself, which was shortly about to vanish away from the world, the means of spiritual insight which was no

13. "There are spirits, too, Ananda, on the earth, and of worldly mind, who tear their hair and weep, who stretch forth their arms and weep, who fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought: 'Too soon will the Blessed One die! Too soon will the Happy One pass away! Full soon will the Eye of the world disappear from sight!'

14. "But the spirits who are free from passion bear it, calm and self-possessed, mindful of the saying which begins, 'Impermanent indeed are all component things. How then is it possible [whereas anything whatever, when born, brought into being, and organized, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution — how then is it possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist!]'⁴

15. "In times past, Lord, the brethren, when they had spent the rainy season in different districts, used to come to see the Tathagata, and we used to receive those very reverend brethren to audience, and to wait upon the Blessed One. But, Lord, after the end of the Blessed One, we shall not be able to receive those very reverend brethren to audience, and to wait upon the Blessed One."

16. "There are these four places, Ananda, which the believing man should visit with feelings of reverence and awe. Which are the four?

17. "The place, Ananda, at which the believing man can say, 'Here the Tathagata was born!' is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence and awe.

18. "The place, Ananda, at which the believing man can say, 'Here the Tathagata attained to the supreme and perfect insight!' is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence and awe.

19. "The place, Ananda, at which the believing man can longer to be available for the common use of all men. But this is, it will be noticed, only the lament of the foolish and ignorant.

⁴ The words in brackets have been inserted from chapter III, 63, above. See chapter VI, 39, below.

say, 'Here was the kingdom of righteousness set on foot by the Tathagata!' is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence and awe.

20. "The place, Ananda, at which the believing man can say, 'Here the Tathagata passed finally away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain behind!' is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence and awe.

21. "And there will come, Ananda, to such spots, believers, brethren and sisters of the order, or devout men and devout women, and will say, 'Here was the Tathagata born!' or, 'Here did the Tathagata attain to the supreme and perfect insight!' or, 'Here was the kingdom of righteousness set on foot by the Tathagata!' or, 'Here the Tathagata passed away in the utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain behind!'

22. "And they, Ananda, who shall die while they, with believing heart, are journeying on such pilgrimage, shall be reborn after death, when the body shall dissolve, in the happy realms of heaven."

23. "How are we to conduct ourselves, Lord, with regard to womankind?"

"Don't see them, Ananda."

"But if we should see them, what are we to do?"

"Abstain from speech, Ananda."

"But if they should speak to us, Lord, what are we to do?"

"Keep wide awake, Ananda."

24. "What are we to do, Lord, with the remains of the Tathagata?"

"Hinder not yourselves, Ananda, by honoring the remains of the Tathagata. Be zealous, I beseech you, Ananda, in your own behalf! Devote yourselves to your own good! Be earnest, be zealous, be intent on your own good! There are wise men, Ananda, among the nobles, among the brahmins, among the heads of houses, who are firm believers in the

Tathagata; and they will do due honor to the remains of the Tathagata."

25.⁵ "What should be done, Lord, with the remains of the Tathagata?"

"As men treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Ananda, should they treat the remains of a Tathagata."

"And how, Lord, do they treat the remains of a king of kings?"⁶

26. "They wrap the body of a king of kings, Ananda, in a new cloth. When that is done they wrap it in carded cotton wool. When that is done they wrap it in a new cloth — and so on till they have wrapped the body in five hundred successive layers of both kinds. Then they place the body in an oil-vessel of iron, and cover that close up with another oil-vessel of iron. They then build a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes, and burn the body of the king of kings. And then at the four cross-roads they erect a *dagaba*⁷ to the king of kings. This, Ananda, is the way in which they treat the remains of a king of kings.

"And as they treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Ananda, should they treat the remains of the Tathagata. At the four cross-roads a *dagaba* should be erected to the Tathagata. And whosoever shall there place garlands or perfumes or paint, or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart — that shall long be to them for a profit and a joy."

27. "These men, Ananda, worthy of a *dagaba*, are four in number. Which are the four?"

⁵ This conversation occurs below (chapter vi, 33), and the older tradition probably had it only in that connection.

⁶ King of kings is an inadequate rendering of Kakkavatti Raga. It is a king whose power no other king can dispute, who is the acknowledged overlord in India. The idea can scarcely have existed before Kandragupta, the first Kakravarti, had raised himself to power. This passage, therefore, is a guide to the date at which the Mahā-parinibbana Sutta assumed its present form.

⁷ A solid mound or tumulus, in the midst of which the bones and ashes are to be placed.

"A Tathagata, or Arahāt-Buddha, is worthy of a *dagaba*. A Pakkeka-Buddha⁸ is worthy of a *dagaba*. A true hearer of the Tathagata is worthy of a *dagaba*. A king of kings is worthy of a *dagaba*.

28. "And on account of what circumstance, Ananda, is a Tathagata, an Arahāt-Buddha, worthy of a *dagaba*?

"At the thought, Ananda, 'This is the *dagaba* of that Blessed One, of that Arahāt-Buddha,' the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ananda, that a Tathagata, an Arahāt-Buddha, is worthy of a *dagaba*.

29. "And on account of what circumstance, Ananda, is a Pakkeka-Buddha worthy of a *dagaba*?

"At the thought, Ananda, 'This is the *dagaba* of that Blessed One, of that Pakkeka-Buddha,' the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ananda, that a Pakkeka-Buddha is worthy of a *dagaba*.

30. "And on account of what circumstance, Ananda, is a true hearer of the Blessed One, the Arahāt-Buddha, worthy of a *dagaba*?

"At the thought, Ananda, 'This is the *dagaba* of that true hearer of the Blessed Arahāt-Buddha,' the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ananda, that a true hearer of the Blessed One, the Arahāt-Buddha, is worthy of a *dagaba*.

31. "And on account of what circumstance, Ananda, is a king of kings worthy of a *dagaba*?

"At the thought, Ananda, 'This is the *dagaba* of that

⁸ A Pakkeka-Buddha, who has attained to the supreme and perfect insight; but dies without proclaiming the truth to the world.

righteous king who ruled in righteousness,' the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ananda, that a king of kings is worthy of a *dagaba*.

"These four, Ananda, are the persons worthy of a



anda went into the Vihara, out of the door, and weeping still but a learner, one who had no special section. And the Master is who is so kind!'"

And he called the brethren, and said: "Ananda?"

And he has gone into the Vihara, out of the door, and weeping still but a learner, one who had no special section. And the Master is who is so kind!'"

And he called a certain brother, and said: "Ananda in my name, and I call for thee."'

And the brother, in assent, to the Master went to the place where the Master had come there, he said to Ananda, the Master calls

And the venerable Ananda, in assent, went up to the place where the Master had come there, he bowed down before the Blessed One, and took his seat respectfully on one side.

35. Then the Blessed One said to the venerable Ananda, as he sat there by his side: "Enough, Ananda! Do not let yourself be troubled; do not weep! Have I not already, on former occasions, told you that it is in the very nature of all

"A Tathagata, or Arahāt-Buddha, is worthy of a *dagaba*. A Pakkeka-Buddha⁸ is worthy of a *dagaba*. A true hearer of the Tathagata is worthy of a *dagaba*. A king of kings is worthy of a *dagaba*.

28. "And on account of what circumstance, Ananda, is a Tathagata, an Arahāt-Buddha, worthy of a *dagaba*?

"At the thought, Ananda, 'This is the *dagaba* of that Blessed One, of that Arahāt-Buddha, who shall be made calm and happy, who has calmed and satisfied their minds, who has died at death, when the body has dissolved, and gone to heaven. It is on account of this that a Tathagata, an Arahāt-Buddha, is worthy of a *dagaba*.'

29. "And on account of what circumstance, Ananda, is a Pakkeka-Buddha worthy of a *dagaba*?

"At the thought, Ananda, 'This is the *dagaba* of that Blessed One, of that Pakkeka-Buddha, who shall be made calm and happy, who has calmed and satisfied their minds, who has died at death, when the body has dissolved, and gone to heaven. It is on account of this that a Pakkeka-Buddha is worthy of a *dagaba*.'

30. "And on account of what circumstance, Ananda, is a true hearer of the Blessed One worthy of a *dagaba*?

"At the thought, Ananda, 'This is the *dagaba* of that true hearer of the Blessed One, who shall be made calm and happy, who has calmed and satisfied their minds, who has died at death, when the body has dissolved, and gone to heaven. It is on account of this that a true hearer of the Blessed One is worthy of a *dagaba*.'

31. "And on account of what circumstance, Ananda, is a king of kings worthy of a *dagaba*?

"At the thought, Ananda, 'This is the *dagaba* of that

⁸ A Pakkeka-Buddha, who has attained to the supreme and perfect insight; but dies without proclaiming the truth to the world.

righteous king who ruled in righteousness,' the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ananda, that a king of kings is worthy of a *dagaba*.

"These four, Ananda, are the persons worthy of a *dagaba*."

32. "Now the venerable Ananda went into the Vihara, and stood leaning against the lintel of the door, and weeping at the thought: 'Alas! I remain still but a learner, one who has yet to work out his own perfection. And the Master is about to pass away from me — he who is so kind!'"

33. Now the Blessed One called the brethren, and said: "Where, then, brethren, is Ananda?"

"The venerable Ananda, Lord, has gone into the Vihara, and stands leaning against the lintel of the door, and weeping at the thought: 'Alas! I remain still but a learner, one who has yet to work out his own perfection. And the Master is about to pass away from me — he who is so kind!'"

34. And the Blessed One called a certain brother, and said: "Go now, brother, and call Ananda in my name, and say, 'Brother Ananda, the Master calls for thee.'"

"Even so, Lord!" said that brother, in assent, to the Blessed One. And he went up to the place where the Blessed One was; and when he had come there, he said to the venerable Ananda: "Brother Ananda, the Master calls for thee."

"Very well, brother," said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to that brother. And he went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and when he had come there, he bowed down before the Blessed One, and took his seat respectfully on one side.

35. Then the Blessed One said to the venerable Ananda, as he sat there by his side: "Enough, Ananda! Do not let yourself be troubled; do not weep! Have I not already, on former occasions, told you that it is in the very nature of all

things most near and dear unto us that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How, then, Ananda, can this be possible — whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organized, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution — how, then, can this be possible, that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist! For a long time, Ananda, have you been very near to me by acts of love, kind and good, that never varies, and is beyond all measure. For a long time, Ananda, have you been very near to me by words of love, kind and good, that never varies, and is beyond all measure. For a long time, Ananda, have you been very near to me by thoughts of love, kind and good, that never varies,⁹ and is beyond all measure. You have done well, Ananda! Be earnest in effort, and you too shall soon be free from the great evils — from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance!"¹⁰

36. Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: "Whosoever, brethren, have been Arahāt-Buddhas through the long ages of the past, there were servitors just as devoted to those Blessed Ones as Ananda has been to me. And whosoever, brethren, shall be Arahāt-Buddhas in the long ages of the future, there shall be servitors just as devoted to those Blessed Ones as Ananda has been to me.

37. "He is a wise man, brethren — is Ananda. He knows when it is the right time for him to come and visit the Tathagata, and when it is the right time for the brethren and sisters of the order, for devout men and devout women,

⁹ *Advayena*, which Buddhaghosa explains as not being that kind of love which is now one thing and now another, or which varies in the presence or the absence of the object loved. When the Buddha is called in the Amara Kosha I, 1, 1, 9, *advayavadin*, that must mean in a similar way, "One whose teaching does not vary."

¹⁰ Literally, thou shalt become an Anasava, that is, one who is free from the four Asavas, all which are explained above in section I, 12, from which I have taken the details suggested to a Buddhist by the word used. The state of mind to which an Anasava has reached is precisely the same, though looked at from a different point of view, as the state of mind expressed by the better-known word "Nirvana."

for a king, or for a king's ministers, for other teachers or their disciples, to come and visit the Tathagata.

38. "Brethren, there are these four wonderful and marvelous qualities in Ananda. Which are the four?

"If, brethren, a number of the brethren of the order should come to visit Ananda, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if Ananda should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse; while the company of brethren is ill at ease, brethren, when Ananda is silent.

"If, brethren, a number of the sisters of the order, or of devout men, or of devout women, should come to visit Ananda, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if Ananda should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse; while the company of sisters is ill at ease, brethren, when Ananda is silent.

39. "Brethren, there are these four wonderful and marvelous qualities in a king of kings. What are the four?

"If, brethren, a number of nobles, or brahmin, or heads of houses, or Samanas should come to visit a king of kings, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if the king of kings should then speak, they are filled with joy at what is said; while they are ill at ease, brethren, when the king of kings is silent.

40. "Just so, brethren, are the four wonderful and marvelous qualities in Ananda.

"If, brethren, a number of the brethren of the order, or of the sisters of the order, or of devout men, or of devout women, should come to visit Ananda, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if Ananda should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse; while the company of brethren is ill at ease, brethren, when Ananda is silent.

"Now these, brethren, are the four wonderful and marvelous qualities that are in Ananda."

41. When he had thus spoken, the venerable Ananda said to the Blessed One:

"Let not the Blessed One die in this little wattel and daub town, in this town in the midst of the jungle, in this branch township. For, Lord, there are other great cities, such as Kampa, Ragagaha, Savatthi, Saketa, Kosambi, and Benares. Let the Blessed One die in one of them. There are many wealthy nobles and brahmins and heads of houses, believers in the Tathagata, who will pay due honor to the remains of the Tathagata."

42. "Say not so, Ananda! Say not so, Ananda, that this is but a small wattel and daub town, a town in the midst of the jungle, a branch township. Long ago, Ananda, there was a king, by name Maha-Sudassana, a king of kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, Lord of the four quarters of the earth, conqueror, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures. This Kusinara, Ananda, was the royal city of king Maha-Sudassana, under the name of Kusavati, and on the east and on the west it was twelve leagues in length, and on the north and on the south it was seven leagues in breadth.

43. "That royal city Kusavati, Ananda, was mighty, and prosperous, and full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all things for food. Just, Ananda, as the royal city of the gods, Alakamanda by name, is mighty, prosperous, and full of people, crowded with the gods, and provided with all kinds of food, so, Ananda, was the royal city Kusavati mighty and prosperous, full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all kinds of food.

44. "Both by day and by night, Ananda, the royal city Kusavati resounded with the ten cries; that is to say, the noise of elephants, and the noise of horses, and the noise of chariots; the sounds of the drum, and of the tabor, and of the lute; the sound of singing, and the sounds of the cymbal and of the gong; and lastly, with the cry, 'Eat, drink, and be merry!'

45. "Go now, Ananda, and enter into Kusinara, and inform the Mallas of Kusinara, saying, 'This day, O Vasetthas, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away

of the Tathagata will take place. Be favorable herein, O Vasetthas, be favorable. Give no occasion to reproach yourselves hereafter, saying, "In our own village did the death of our Tathagata take place, and we took not the opportunity of visiting the Tathagata in his last hours." " "

"Even so, Lord," said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One; and he robed himself, and taking his bowl, entered into Kusinara attended by another member of the order.

46. Now at that time the Mallas of Kusinara were assembled in the council hall on some public affair.

And the venerable Ananda went to the council hall of the Mallas of Kusinara; and when he had arrived there, he informed them, saying: "This day, O Vasetthas, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Tathagata will take place. Be favorable herein, O Vasetthas, be favorable. Give no occasion to reproach yourselves hereafter, saying, 'In our own village did the death of our Tathagata take place, and we took not the opportunity of visiting the Tathagata in his last hours.' "

47. And when they had heard this saying of the venerable Ananda, the Mallas with their young men and maidens and their wives were grieved, and sad, and afflicted at heart. And some of them wept, disheveling their hair, and stretched forth their arms and wept, fell prostrate on the ground, and rolled to and fro in anguish at the thought: "Too soon will the Blessed One die! Too soon will the Happy One pass away! Full soon will the Light of the world vanish away!"

48. Then the Mallas, with their young men and maidens and their wives, being grieved and sad and afflicted at heart, went to the Sala Grove of the Mallas, to the Upavattana, and to the place where the venerable Ananda was.

49. Then the venerable Ananda thought: "If I allow the Mallas of Kusinara, one by one, to pay their respects to the Blessed One, the whole of the Mallas of Kusinara will not have been presented to the Blessed One until this night brightens up into the dawn. Let me, now, cause the Mallas

of Kusinara to stand in groups, each family in a group, and so present them to the Blessed One, saying, 'Lord! a Malla of such and such a name, with his children, his wives, his retinue, and his friends, humbly bows down at the feet of the Blessed One.'"

50. And the venerable Ananda caused the Mallas of Kusinara to stand in groups, each family in a group, and so presented them to the Blessed One, and said: "Lord! a Malla of such and such a name, with his children, his wives, his retinue, and his friends, humbly bows down at the feet of the Blessed One."

51. And after this manner the venerable Ananda presented all the Mallas of Kusinara to the Blessed One in the first watch of the night.

52. Now at that time a mendicant named Subhadda, who was not a believer, was dwelling at Kusinara. And the mendicant Subhadda heard the news: "This very day, they say, in the third watch of the night, will take place the final passing away of the Samana Gotama."

53. Then thought the mendicant Subhadda: "This have I heard from fellow mendicants of mine, old and well stricken in years, teachers and disciples, when they said: 'Sometimes and full seldom do Tathagatas appear in the world, the Arahata Buddhas.' Yet this day, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Samana Gotama will take place. Now a certain feeling of uncertainty has sprung up in my mind; and this faith have I in the Samana Gotama, that he, methinks, is able so to present the truth that I may get rid of this feeling of uncertainty."

54. Then the mendicant Subhadda went to the Sala Grove of the Mallas, to the Upavattana of Kusinara, to the place where the venerable Ananda was.

55. And when he had come there he said to the venerable Ananda: "Thus have I heard from fellow mendicants of mine, old and well stricken in years, teachers and disciples, when they said: 'Sometimes and full seldom do Tathagatas appear in the world, the Arahata Buddhas.' Yet this day, in

the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Samana Gotama will take place. Now a certain feeling of uncertainty has sprung up in my mind; and this faith have I in the Samana Gotama, that he, methinks, is able so to present the truth that I may get rid of this feeling of uncertainty. O that I, even I, Ananda, might be allowed to see the Samana Gotama!"

56. And when he had thus spoken the venerable Ananda said to the mendicant Subhadda: "Enough! friend Subhadda. Trouble not the Tathagata. The Blessed One is weary."

57. And again the mendicant Subhadda [made the same request in the same words, and received the same reply]; and the third time the mendicant Subhadda [made the same request in the same words, and received the same reply].

58. Now the Blessed One overheard this conversation of the venerable Ananda with the mendicant Subhadda. And the Blessed One called the venerable Ananda, and said: "It is enough, Ananda! Do not keep out Subhadda. Subhadda, Ananda, may be allowed to see the Tathagata. Whatever Subhadda may ask of me, he will ask from a desire for knowledge, and not to annoy me. And whatever I may say in answer to his questions, that he will quickly understand."

59. Then the venerable Ananda said to Subhadda, the mendicant: "Enter in, friend Subhadda; for the Blessed One gives you leave."

60. Then Subhadda, the mendicant, went into the place where the Blessed One was, and saluted him courteously, and after exchanging with him the compliments of esteem and of civility, he took his seat on one side. And when he was thus seated, Subhadda, the mendicant, said to the Blessed One: "The brahmins by saintliness of life, Gotama, who are heads of companies of disciples and students, teachers of students, well known, renowned, founders of schools of doctrine, esteemed as good men by the multitude — to wit, Purana Kassapa, Makkhali of the cattle-pen, Agita of the garment of hair, Kakkayana of the Pakudha tree, Sangaya the

son of the Belatthi slave-girl, and Nigantha of the Natha clan — have they all, according to their own assertion, thoroughly understood things? or have they not? or are there some of them who have understood, and some who have not?"

61. "Enough, Subhadda! Let this matter rest whether they, according to their own assertion, have thoroughly understood things, or whether they have not, or whether some of them have understood and some have not! The truth, Ananda, will I teach you. Listen well to that, and give ear attentively, and I will speak."

"Even so, Lord!" said the mendicant Subhadda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

62. And the Blessed One spake: "In whatsoever doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, the noble eightfold path is not found, neither in it is there found a man of true saintliness of the first or of the second or of the third or of the fourth degree.¹¹ And in whatsoever doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, the noble eightfold path is found, is found the man of true saintliness of the first and the second and the third and the fourth degree. Now in this doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, is found the noble eightfold path, and in it alone, Subhadda, is the man of true saintliness. Void are the systems of other teachers — void of true saints. And in this one, Subhadda, may the brethren live the Life that's Right, so that the world be not bereft of Arahats.¹²

"But twenty-nine was I when I renounced
The world, Subhadda, seeking after good.
For fifty years and one year more, Subhadda,
Since I went out, a pilgrim have I been

¹¹ This refers to the four divisions of the Noble Eightfold Path. See above, chapter II, section 8, where their characters are described. The word translated "man of true saintliness," or "true saint," is in the text *Samano*. I am at a loss how to render the word adequately here.

¹² *Arahats* are those who have reached Nirvana, the "supreme goal," the "highest fruit" of the Noble Eightfold Path. To live "the Life that's Right" (*samma*) is to live in the Noble Path, each of the eight divisions of which is to be *samma*, round, right and perfect, normal and complete.

Through the wide realms of virtue and of truth,
And outside these no really 'saint' can be!

"Yea, not of the first, nor of the second, nor of the third, nor of the fourth degree. Void are the systems of other teachers—void of true saints. But in this one, Subhadda, may the brethren live the perfect life, that the world be not bereft of those who have reached the highest fruit."

63. And when he had thus spoken, Subhadda, the mendicant, said to the Blessed One: "Most excellent, Lord, are the words of thy mouth, most excellent! Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness, so that those who have eyes can see external forms; just even so, Lord, has the truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the Blessed One. And I, even I, betake myself, Lord, to the Blessed One as my refuge, to the truth, and to the order. May the Blessed One accept me as a disciple, as a true believer, from this day forth, as long as life endures!"

64. "Whosoever, Subhadda, that has formerly been a follower of another doctrine and then desires to be received into the higher or the lower grade in this doctrine and discipline, he remains on probation for the space of four months; and at the end of the four months, the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive him into the lower or into the higher grade of the order. Nevertheless in this case I acknowledge the difference in persons."

65. "If, Lord, whosoever that has formerly been a follower of another doctrine and then desires to be received into the higher or the lower grade in this doctrine and discipline—if, in that case, such a person remains on probation for the space of four months; and at the end of the four months, the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive him into the lower or into the higher grade of the order—I too, then, will remain on probation for the space of four months; and at the end of the four months let the brethren, exalted in

spirit, receive me into the lower or into the higher grade of the order!"

66. But the Blessed One called the venerable Ananda, and said: "As it is, Ananda, receive Subhadda into the order!"

"Even so, Lord!" said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

67. And Subhadda, the mendicant, said to the venerable Ananda: "Great is your gain, friend Ananda, great is your good fortune, friend Ananda, that you all have been sprinkled with the sprinkling of discipleship in this brotherhood at the hands of the Master himself!"

68. So Subhadda, the mendicant, was received into the higher grade of the order under the Blessed One; and from immediately after his ordination the venerable Subhadda remained alone and separate, earnest, zealous, and resolved. And e'er long he attained to that supreme goal of the higher life¹³ for the sake of which men go out from all and every household gain and comfort to become houseless wanderers — yea, that supreme goal did he, by himself, and while yet in this visible world, bring himself to the knowledge of, and continue to realize, and to see face to face! And he became conscious that birth was at an end, that the higher life had been fulfilled, that all that should be done had been accomplished, and that after this present life there would be no beyond!

69. So the venerable Subhadda became yet another among the Arahats; and he was the last disciple whom the Blessed One himself converted.¹⁴

End of the Hirannavatiya portion, being the Fifth Portion for Recitation.

¹³ That is, Nirvana. Compare Mangala Sutta V, 11, and the Dhammapada, verses 180, 354, and above chapter I, section 7.

¹⁴ Buddhaghosa says that the last five words in the text (the last twelve words in my translation) were added by the Theras who held the Council. On Subhadda's ordination he has the following interesting note: "The *Thero* (that is, Ananda), they say, took him on one side, poured water over his head from a water vessel, made him repeat the formula of meditation on the impermanency of the body, shaved off his hair and beard, clad him in the yellow robes, made him repeat the

CHAPTER VI

1. Now the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: "It may be, Ananda, that in some of you the thought may arise, 'The word of the Master is ended, we have no teacher more!' But it is not thus, Ananda, that you should regard it. The truths and the rules of the order which I have set forth and laid down for you all, let them, after I am gone, be the Teacher to you.

2. "Ananda! when I am gone address not one another in the way in which the brethren have heretofore addressed each other — with the epithet, that is, of '*Avuso*' (Friend). A younger brother may be addressed by an elder with his name, or his family name, or the title 'Friend.' But an elder should be addressed by a young brother as 'Lord' or as 'Venerable Sir.'

3. "When I am gone, Ananda, let the order, if it should so wish, abolish all the lesser and minor precepts.

4. "When I am gone, Ananda, let the higher penalty be imposed on brother Khanna."

"But what, Lord, is the higher penalty?"

"Let Khanna say whatever he may like, Ananda, the brethren should neither speak to him, nor exhort him, nor admonish him."¹

'Three Refuges' and led him back to the Blessed One. The Blessed One himself admitted him then into the higher rank of the brotherhood, and pointed out to him a subject for meditation. He accepted this, and walking up and down in a quiet part of the grove, he thought and meditated upon it, till overcoming the Evil Spirit, he had acquired Arahatsip, and with it the discriminating knowledge of all the Scriptures (*Patisambhida*). Then, returning, he came and took his seat beside the Blessed One." According to this, no set ceremony for ordination (*Sanghakammam*), as laid down in the Vinaya, took place; and it is otherwise probable that no such ceremony was usual in the earliest days of Buddhism.

¹ Khanna is represented as an obstinate, perverse man; so destitute of the proper *esprit de corps* that he dared to take part with the sisterhood, and against the brotherhood, in a dispute which had arisen

5. Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: "It may be, brethren, that there may be doubt or misgiving in the mind of some brother as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the way. Inquire, brethren, freely. Do not have to reproach yourselves afterward with the thought, 'Our teacher was face to face with us, and we could not bring ourselves to inquire of the Blessed One when we were face to face with him.'"

And when he had thus spoken the brethren were silent.

6. And again the second and the third time the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: "It may be, brethren, that there may be doubt or misgiving in the mind of some brother as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way. Inquire, brethren, freely. Do not have to reproach yourselves afterward with the thought, 'Our teacher was face to face with us, and we could not bring ourselves to inquire of the Blessed One when we were face to face with him.'"

And even the third time the brethren were silent.

7. Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: "It may be, brethren, that you put no questions out of reverence for the teacher. Let one friend communicate to another."

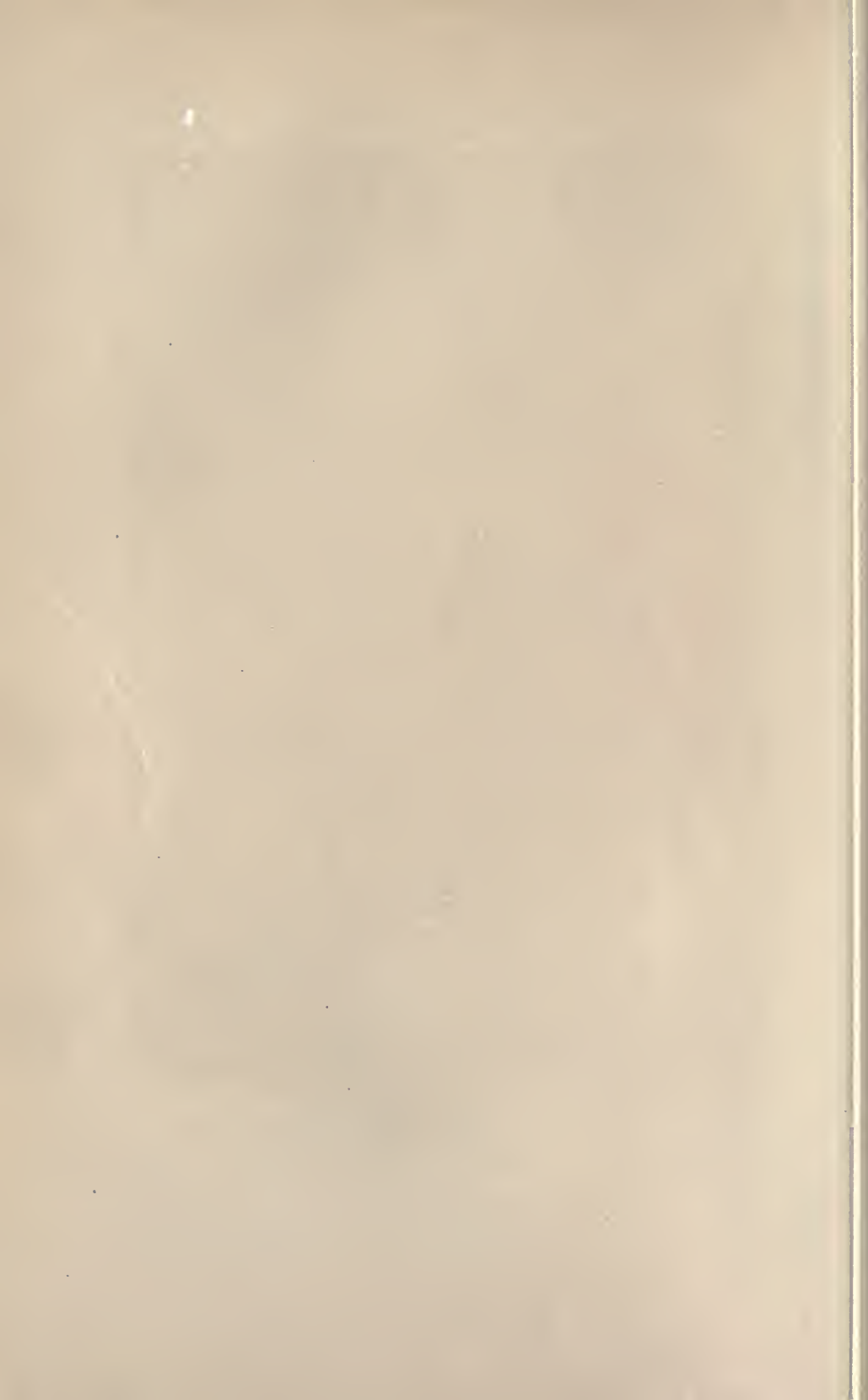
And when he had thus spoken the brethren were silent.

8. And the venerable Ananda said to the Blessed One: "How wonderful a thing is it, Lord, and how marvelous! Verily, I believe that in this whole assembly of the brethren there is not one brother who has any doubt or misgiving as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way!"

9. "It is out of the fulness of faith that thou hast spoken, Ananda! But, Ananda, the Tathagata knows for certain that in this whole assembly of the brethren there is not one brother who has any doubt or misgiving as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way! For even the most

between them. But after the social penalty here referred to had been duly imposed upon him, even his proud and independent spirit was tamed; he became humble: his eyes were opened; and he, also, attained to the "supreme goal" of the Buddhist faith.





backward, Ananda, of all these five hundred brethren has become converted, and is no longer liable to be born in a state of suffering, and is assured of final salvation.”²

10. Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said, “Behold now, brethren, I exhort you, saying, ‘Decay is inherent in all component things! Work out your salvation with diligence!’”

This was the last word of the Tathagata!

11. Then the Blessed One entered into the first stage of deep meditation. And rising out of the first stage he passed into the second. And rising out of the second he passed into the third. And rising out of the third stage he passed into the fourth. And rising out of the fourth stage of deep meditation he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of space is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of space he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of thought is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of thought he entered into a state of mind to which nothing at all was specially present. And passing out of the consciousness of no special object he fell into a state between consciousness and unconsciousness. And passing out of the state between consciousness and unconsciousness he fell into a state in which the consciousness both of sensations and of ideas had wholly passed away.

12. Then the venerable Ananda said to the venerable Anuruddha: “O my Lord, O Anuruddha, the Blessed One is dead!”

“Nay! brother Ananda, the Blessed One is not dead. He has entered into that state in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be!”

13. Then the Blessed One passing out of the state in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be, entered into the state between consciousness and unconsciousness.

² By “the most backward,” according to Buddhaghosa, the Blessed One referred to Ananda, and he said this to encourage him.

And passing out of the state between consciousness and unconsciousness he entered into the state of mind to which nothing at all is specially present. And passing out of the consciousness of no special object he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of thought is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of thought he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of space is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of space he entered into the fourth stage of deep meditation. And passing out of the fourth stage he entered into the third. And passing out of the third stage he entered into the second. And passing out of the second he entered into the first. And passing out of the first stage of deep meditation he entered into the second. And passing out of the second stage he entered into the third. And passing out of the third stage he entered into the fourth stage of deep meditation. And passing out of the last stage of deep meditation he immediately expired.

14. When the Blessed One died there arose, at the moment of his passing out of existence, a mighty earthquake, terrible and awe-inspiring: and the thunders of heaven burst forth.

15. When the Blessed One died, Bráhmâ Sahampati, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza:

“They all, all beings that have life, shall lay
 Aside their complex form—that aggregation
 Of mental and material qualities,
 That gives them, or in heaven or on earth,
 Their fleeting individuality!
 E’en as the teacher—being such a one,
 Unequaled among all the men that are,
 Successor of the prophets of old time,
 Mighty by wisdom, and in insight clear—
 Hath died!”^s

^s Bráhmâ, the first cause, the highest result of Indian theological speculation, the one God of the Indian Pantheists, is represented as using expressions full of deep allusions to the most characteristic Buddhist doctrines.

16. When the Blessed One died, Sakka, the king of the gods, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza:

"They're transient all, each being's parts and powers,
Growth is their nature, and decay.
They are produced, they are dissolved again:
And then is best, when they have sunk to rest!"

17. When the Blessed One died, the venerable Anuruddha, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered these stanzas:

"When he who from all craving want was free,
Who to Nirvana's tranquil state had reached,
When the great sage finished his span of life,
No gasping struggle vexed that steadfast heart!"

"All resolute, and with unshaken mind,
He calmly triumphed o'er the pain of death.
E'en as a bright flame dies away, so was
His last deliverance from the bonds of life!"

18. When the Blessed One died, the venerable Ananda, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza:

"Then was there terror!
Then stood the hair on end!
When he endowed with every grace—
The supreme Buddha—died!"⁴

19. When the Blessed One died, of those of the brethren who were not yet free from the passions, some stretched out their arms and wept, and some fell headlong on the ground, rolling to and fro in anguish at the thought: "Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away from existence! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!"

But those of the brethren who were free from the passions

⁴In these four stanzas we seem to have the way in which the death of the Buddha would be regarded, as the early Buddhist thought, by four representative persons—the exalted God of the theologians; the Jupiter of the multitude (allowing in the case of each of these for the change in character resulting from their conversion to Buddhism); the holy, thoughtful Arahāt; and the loving, childlike disciple.

(the Arahats) bore their grief collected and composed at the thought: "Impermanent are all component things! How is it possible that [they should not be dissolved]?"

20. Then the venerable Anuruddha exhorted the brethren, and said: "Enough, my brethren! Weep not, neither lament! Has not the Blessed One formerly declared this to us, that it is in the very nature of all things near and dear unto us, that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How then, brethren, can this be possible — that whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organized, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution — how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist! Even the spirits, brethren, will reproach us.

"But of what kind of spirits is the Lord, the venerable Anuruddha, thinking?"

21. "There are spirits, brother Ananda, in the sky, but of worldly mind, who dishevel their hair and weep, and stretch forth their arms and weep, fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought: 'Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!'

"There are spirits, too, Ananda, on the earth, and of worldly mind, who tear their hair and weep, and stretch forth their arms and weep, fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought: 'Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!'

"But the spirits who are free from passion bear it, calm and self-possessed, mindful of the saying which begins, 'Impermanent indeed are all component things. How then is it possible [that such a being should not be dissolved]?'"

22. Now the venerable Anuruddha and the venerable Ananda spent the rest of that night in religious discourse. Then the venerable Anuruddha said to the venerable Ananda: "Go now, brother Ananda, into Kusinara and inform the

Mallas of Kusinara, saying, 'The Blessed One, O Vasetthas, is dead: do, then, whatever seemeth to you fit!'"

"Even so, Lord!" said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the venerable Anuruddha. And having robed himself early in the morning, he took his bowl, and went into Kusinara with one of the brethren as an attendant.

23. Now at that time the Mallas of Kusinara were assembled in the council hall concerning that very matter.

And the venerable Ananda went to the council hall of the Mallas of Kusinara; and when he had arrived there, he informed them, saying, "The Blessed One, O Vasetthas, is dead; do, then, whatever seemeth to you fit!"

24. And when they had heard this saying of the venerable Ananda, the Mallas, with their young men and their maidens and their wives, were grieved, and sad, and afflicted at heart. And some of them wept, disheveling their hair, and some stretched forth their arms and wept, and some fell prostrate on the ground, and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought: "Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!"

25. Then the Mallas of Kusinara gave orders to their attendants, saying, "Gather together perfumes and garlands, and all the music in Kusinara!"

26. And the Mallas of Kusinara took the perfumes and garlands, and all the musical instruments, and five hundred suits of apparel, and went to the Upavattana, to the Sala Grove of the Mallas, where the body of the Blessed One lay. There they passed the day in paying honor, reverence, respect, and homage to the remains of the Blessed One with dancing, and hymns, and music, and with garlands and perfumes; and in making canopies of their garments, and preparing decoration wreaths to hang thereon.⁵

⁵ The dress of the Mallas consisted probably of mere lengths of muslin or cotton cloth; and a suit of apparel consisted of two or, at the outside, of three of these—one to wrap round the loins, one to throw over the shoulders, and one to use as a turban. To make a canopy on occasions of state they would join such pieces together; to

27. Then the Mallas of Kusinara thought:

"It is much too late to burn the body of the Blessed One to-day. Let us now perform the cremation to-morrow." And in paying honor, reverence, respect, and homage to the remains of the Blessed One with dancing, and hymns, and music, and with garlands and perfumes; and in making canopies of their garments, and preparing decoration wreaths to hang thereon, they passed the second day, too, and then the third day, and the fourth, and the fifth, and the sixth day also.

28. Then on the seventh day the Mallas of Kusinara thought:

"Let us carry the body of the Blessed One, by the south and outside, to a spot on the south, and outside of the city — paying it honor, and reverence, and respect, and homage, with dance and song and music, with garlands and perfumes — and there, to the south of the city, let us perform the cremation ceremony!"

29. And thereupon eight chieftains among the Mallas bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments with the intention of bearing the body of the Blessed One. But, behold, they could not lift it up!

30. Then the Mallas of Kusinara said to the venerable Anuruddha: "What, Lord, can be the reason, what can be the cause that eight chieftains of the Mallas who have bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments with the intention of bearing the body of the Blessed One, are unable to lift it up?"

"It is because you, O Vasetthas, have one purpose, and the spirits have another purpose."

31. "But what, Lord, is the purpose of the spirits?"

"Your purpose, O Vasetthas, is this, Let us carry the body of the Blessed One, by the south and outside, to a spot on the

make the canopy into a tent they would simply add walls of the same material; and the only decoration, as simple as it is beautiful, would be wreaths of flowers, or single lotuses, hanging from the roof, or stretched along the sides.

south, and outside of the city — paying it honor, and reverence, and respect, and homage, with dance and song and music, with garlands and perfumes — and there, to the south of the city, let us perform the cremation ceremony. But the purpose of the spirits, Vasetthas, is this, Let us carry the body of the Blessed One by the north to the north of the city, and entering the city by the north gate, let us bring it through the midst of the city into the midst thereof. And going out again by the eastern gate — paying honor, and reverence, and respect, and homage to the body of the Blessed One, with heavenly dance, and song, and music, and garlands, and perfumes — let us carry it to the shrine of the Mallas called Makuta-bandhana, to the east of the city, and there let us perform the cremation ceremony.”

“Even according to the purpose of the spirits, so, Lord, let it be!”

32. Then immediately all Kusinara down even to the dustbins and rubbish-heaps became strewn knee-deep with Mandarava flowers from heaven! and while both the spirits from the skies, and the Mallas of Kusinara upon earth, paid honor, and reverence, and respect, and homage to the body of the Blessed One, with dance and song and music, with garlands and with perfumes, they carried the body by the north to the north of the city; and entering the city by the north gate they carried it through the midst of the city into the midst thereof; and going out again by the eastern gate they carried it to the shrine of the Mallas, called Makuta-bandhana; and there, to the east of the city, they laid down the body of the Blessed One.⁶

33. Then the Mallas of Kusinara said to the venerable Ananda: “What should be done, Lord, with the remains of the Tathagata?”

“As men treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Vasetthas, should they treat the remains of a Tathagata.”

⁶ The point of this interesting legend is that the inhabitants of an Indian village of that time would have considered it a desecration or pollution to bring a dead body into or through their village.

“And how, Lord, do they treat the remains of a king of kings?”

“They wrap the body of a king of kings, Vasetthas, in a new cloth. When that is done they wrap it in cotton wool. When that is done they wrap it in a new cloth — and so on till they have wrapped the body in five hundred successive layers of both kinds. Then they place the body in an oil-vessel of iron, and cover that close up with another oil-vessel of iron. They then build a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes, and burn the body of the king of kings. And then at the four cross-roads they erect a *dagaba* to the king of kings. This, Vasetthas, is the way in which they treat the remains of a king of kings.

“And as they treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Vasetthas, should they treat the remains of the Tathagata. At the four cross-roads a *dagaba* should be erected to the Tathagata. And whosoever shall there place garlands or perfumes or paint, or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart — that shall long be to them for a profit and a joy.”

34. Therefore the Mallas gave orders to their attendants, saying, “Gather together all the carded cotton wool of the Mallas!”

35. Then the Mallas of Kusinara wrapped the body of the Blessed One in a new cloth. And when that was done, they wrapped it in cotton wool. And when that was done, they wrapped it in a new cloth,—and so on till they had wrapped the body of the Blessed One in five hundred layers of both kinds. And then they placed the body in an oil-vessel of iron, and covered that close up with another oil-vessel of iron. And then they built a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes, and upon it they placed the body of the Blessed One.

36. Now at that time the venerable Maha Kassapa was journeying along the high road from Pava to Kusinara with a great company of the brethren, with about five hundred of the brethren. And the venerable Maha Kassapa left the

high road, and sat himself down at the foot of a certain tree.

37. Just at that time a certain naked ascetic who had picked up a Mandarava flower in Kusinara was coming along the high road to Pava.

38. And the venerable Maha Kassapa saw the naked ascetic coming in the distance; and when he had seen him he said to the naked ascetic:

“O friend! surely thou knowest our Master?”

“Yea, friend! I know him. This day the Samana Gotama has been dead a week! That is how I obtained this Mandarava flower.”

39. And immediately of those of the brethren who were not yet free from the passions, some stretched out their arms and wept, and some fell headlong on the ground, and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought: “Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away from existence! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!”

But those of the brethren who were free from the passions (the Arahats) bore their grief collected and composed at the thought: “Impermanent are all component things! How is it possible that they should not be dissolved?”

40. Now at that time a brother named Subhadda, who had been received into the order in his old age, was seated there in their company.⁷

And Subhadda the old addressed the brethren, and said: “Enough, brethren! Weep not, neither lament! We are well rid of the great Samana. We used to be annoyed by being told, ‘This beseems you, this beseems you not.’ But now we shall be able to do whatever we like; and what we do not like, that we shall not have to do!”

⁷ Dr. Oldenberg identifies this Subhadda with Subhadda the last convert, mentioned above in chapter v, sections 52-68. They are different persons; the last convert being represented as a young man of high character, incapable of the conduct here ascribed to this Subhadda. The last convert was a brahmin, traditionally supposed to be younger brother to Anna Kondanna, the first convert; this Subhadda had been a barber in the village Atuma.

41. But the venerable Maha Kassapa addressed the brethren, and said: "Enough, my brethren! Weep not, neither lament! Has not the Blessed One formerly declared this to us, that it is in the very nature of all things, near and dear unto us, that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How then, brethren, can this be possible — that whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organized contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution — how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist!"

42. Now just at that time four chieftains of the Mallas had bathed their heads and clad themselves in new garments with the intention of setting on fire the funeral pile of the Blessed One. But, behold, they were unable to set it alight!

43. Then the Mallas of Kusinara said to the venerable Anuruddha: "What, Lord, can be the reason, and what the cause, that four chieftains of the Mallas who have bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments, with the intention of setting on fire the funeral pile of the Blessed One, are unable to set it on fire?"

"It is because you, O Vasetthas, have one purpose, and the spirits have another purpose."

44. "But what, Lord, is the purpose of the spirits?"

"The purpose of the spirits, O Vasetthas, is this: That venerable brother Maha Kassapa is now journeying along the high road from Pava to Kusinara with a great company of the brethren, with five hundred of the brethren. The funeral pile of the Blessed One shall not catch fire until the venerable Maha Kassapa shall have been able reverently to salute the sacred feet of the Blessed One."

"Even according to the purpose of the spirits, so, Lord, let it be!"

45. Then the venerable Maha Kassapa went on to Makutabandhana of Kusinara, to the shrine of the Mallas, to the

place where the funeral pile of the Blessed One was. And when he had come up to it, he arranged his robe on one shoulder; and bowing down with clasped hands he thrice walked reverently round the pile; and then, uncovering the feet, he bowed down in reverence at the feet of the Blessed One.

46. And those five hundred brethren arranged their robes on one shoulder; and bowing down with clasped hands, they thrice walked reverently round the pile, and then bowed down in reverence at the feet of the Blessed One.

47. And when the homage of the venerable Maha Kassapa and of those five hundred brethren was ended, the funeral pile of the Blessed One caught fire of itself.⁸

48. Now as the body of the Blessed One burned itself away, from the skin and the integument, and the flesh, and the nerves, and the fluid of the joints, neither soot nor ash was seen: and only the bones remained behind.

Just as one sees no soot or ash when glue or oil is burned; so, as the body of the Blessed One burned itself away, from the skin and the integument, and the flesh, and the nerves, and the fluid of the joints, neither soot nor ash was seen: and only the bones remained behind. And of those five hundred pieces of raiment the very innermost and outermost were both consumed.

49. And when the body of the Blessed One had been burned up, there came down streams of water from the sky and extinguished the funeral pile of the Blessed One; and there burst forth streams of water from the storehouse of the waters (beneath the earth), and extinguished the funeral pile of the Blessed One. The Mallas of Kusinara also brought water scented with all kinds of perfumes, and extinguished the funeral pile of the Blessed One.

⁸ It is possible that we have here the survival of some ancient custom. Spence Hardy appropriately refers to a ceremony among Jews (of what place or time is not mentioned) in the following terms: "Just before a Jew is taken out of the house to be buried, the relatives and acquaintances of the departed stand round the coffin; when the feet are uncovered; and each in rotation lays hold of the great toes, and begs pardon for any offense given to the deceased, and requests a favorable

50. Then the Mallas of Kusinara surrounded the bones of the Blessed One in their council hall with a lattice work of spears, and with a rampart of bows; and there for seven days they paid honor and reverence and respect and homage to them with dance and song and music, and with garlands and perfumes.

51. Now the King of Magadha, Agatasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinara.

Then the King of Magadha, Agatasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, "The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and I too am of the soldier caste. I am worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will I put up a sacred cairn, and in their honor will I celebrate a feast!"

52. And the Likkhavis of Vesali heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinara. And the Likkhavis of Vesali sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, "The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honor will we celebrate a feast!"

53. And the Sakiyas of Kapila-vatthu heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinara. And the Sakiyas of Kapila-vatthu sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, "The Blessed One was the pride of our race. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honor will we celebrate a feast!"

54. And the Bulis of Allakappa heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinara. And the Bulis of Allakappa sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, "The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honor will we celebrate a feast!" ("Manual of Buddhism," p. 348.)

caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honor will we celebrate a feast!"

55. And the Koliyas of Ramagama heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinara. And the Koliyas of Ramagama sent a messenger to Mallas, saying, "The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honor will we celebrate a feast!"

56. And the brahmin of Vethadipa heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinara. And the brahmin of Vethadipa sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, "The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and I am a brahmin. I am worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will I put up a sacred cairn, and in their honor will I celebrate a feast!"

57. And the Mallas of Pava heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinara.

Then the Mallas of Pava sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, "The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honor will we celebrate a feast!"

58. When they heard these things the Mallas of Kusinara spoke to the assembled brethren, saying, "The Blessed One died in our village domain. We will not give away any part of the remains of the Blessed One!"

59. When they had thus spoken, Dona the brahmin addressed the assembled brethren, and said:

"Hear, reverend sirs, one single word from me.
Forbearance was our Buddha wont to teach.
Unseemly is it that over the division

Of the remains of him who was the best of beings
 Strife should arise, and wounds, and war!
 Let us all, sirs, with one accord unite
 In friendly harmony to make eight portions.
 Wide-spread let *Thupas* rise in every land
 That in the Enlightened One mankind may trust!"

60. "Do thou then, O brahmin, thyself divide the remains of the Blessed One equally into eight parts, with fair division."⁹

"Be it so, sir!" said Dona, in assent, to the assembled brethren. And he divided the remains of the Blessed One equally into eight parts, with fair division. And he said to them: "Give me, sirs, this vessel, and I will set up over it a sacred cairn, and in its honor will I establish a feast."

And they gave the vessel to Dona the brahmin.

61. And the Moriyas of Pippalivana heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinara.

Then the Moriyas of Pippalivana sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, "The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honor will we celebrate a feast!"

And when they heard the answer, saying, "There is no portion of the remains of the Blessed One left over. The remains of the Blessed One are all distributed," then they took away the embers.

62. Then the King of Magadha, Agatasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, made a mound in Ragagaha over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the Likkhavis of Vesali made a mound in Vesali over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the Bulis of Allakappa made a mound in Allakappa over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the Koliyas of Ramagama made a mound in Rama-

⁹ Here again the commentator expands and adds to the comparatively simple version of the text.

gama over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And Vethadipaka the brahmin made a mound in Vethadipa over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the Mallas of Pava made a mound in Pava over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the Mallas of Kusinara made a mound in Kusinara over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And Dona the brahmin made a mound over the vessel in which the body had been burned, and held a feast.

And the Moriyas of Pipphalivana made a mound over the embers, and held a feast.

Thus were the eight mounds (*Thupas*) for the remains, and one for the vessel, and one for the embers. This was how it used to be.¹⁰

[63. Eight measures of relics there were of him of the far-seeing eye,
Of the best of the best of men. In India seven are worshiped,
And one measure in Ramagama, by the kings of the serpent race.
One tooth, too, is honored in heaven, and one in Gandhara's city,
One in the Kalinga realm, and one more by the Naga race.
Through their glory the bountiful earth is made bright with offerings painless —
For with such are the Great Teacher's relics best honored by those who are honored,
By gods and by Nagas and kings, yea, thus by the noblest of monarchs —
Bow down with clasped hands!
Hard, hard is a Buddha to meet with through hundreds of ages!]

End of the Book of the Great Decease.

¹⁰ Here closes Buddhaghosa's long and edifying commentary. He has no note on the following verses, which he says were added by Theras in Ceylon. The additional verse found in the Phayre MS. was in the same way probably added in Burma.



LATER LEGENDS OF THE LIFE OF GOTAMA,
THE BUDDHA

"In all pagan antiquity, no character has been depicted more noble and more winsome. If the portrait is in advance of the original, it is nevertheless of great value, as setting forth the Buddhist conception of the ideal man."

— PROF. C. F. AIKEN.



LATER LEGENDS OF THE LIFE OF BUDDHA

(INTRODUCTION)

THE reader has already been told how the teachings of Buddha spread abroad from India, and how they died out or were trampled out in the country of their birth. Naturally as the story of the great teacher spread from land to land, it gathered fantasies around it, a touch added here, another there, until the first poetic marvels, which we have seen in the Book of the Great Decease, swelled into a thousand grotesque and seemingly absurd extravagances.

The growth of these Buddha legends may best be seen if from the "Decease," the early account of Buddha written in his own home land, we turn to the earliest Chinese account, the "Buddha Charita." This is the accepted life of the sage as known to Chinese Buddhism, and gives the faith as it was carried to China by the great Indian missionary Asvaghosha, about the first Christian century. Or rather, it gives the oldest surviving form of Asvaghosha's teaching, a Chinese translation of his work of about A.D. 400. How much the translator may have expanded the work we have no means of knowing. Critics, however, have generally agreed that this Chinese version of the life has caught the Buddha legend at what was, from a literary viewpoint, the most beautiful moment of its growth. It is rich, full of high sentiment and gentle allegory, the dream of a true poet — in brief, one of the most admirable pieces of Asiatic literature.

From this we turn to show a later and far more extravagant development of the tale. This is the noted Burmese "life," which gives the form of Buddhism accepted to-day in Indo-China. The narrative is of uncertain date, perhaps of the fourteenth century, and was translated by the celebrated Burmese scholar and missionary, Bishop Bigandet.

In both of these works the later chapters cover much of the same ground which we have already covered here with the Book of the Great Decease; hence we restrict our volume to the more interesting early chapters, which close with Buddha's winning of his Buddhahood. The brief "birth poem," ascribed to all Buddhas, has been already mentioned.

In the grotesquery of the Burmese life of Gotama we can see how far Buddhism has drifted from the simple, solemn teaching of the "Kingdom of Righteousness." The Buddha had become a myth. It needed the impressive discoveries of recent generations in India to rearouse interest in the perverted faith, and to enable scholars to gather something of the simple truths which had surrounded its origin. Among the rediscovered pillar-edicts of Asoka is one which marks for us the birth-place of the great Gotama, and thus restores him from myth to history.

That birth pillar stands to-day in the extreme north of India, close under the heavy shadow of the Himalayas, miles deep within a tangle of jungle wilderness. A few miles away lie the long deserted ruins of Kapilavastu, the capital of Gotama's tiny kingdom. For perhaps fifteen hundred years the city and all its dependent villages have lain desolate and wholly forgotten. Yet the pillar still stands to preserve for us the site of the little village or garden of Lumbini, the spot where Gotama was born. One should contrast its simple straightforwardness with the miracles of the Burmese "life" and learn how truth forever manages to slip from the grasp of man. Under the touch of that mighty magician Time, truth becomes more elusive than any shadow on the changing waters, more elusive than life itself.

The inscription on the birth pillar reads, "King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, having been anointed twenty years, came himself and worshiped, saying, 'Here Buddha Sakyamuni was born.' And he caused to be made a stone representing a horse, and he caused this stone pillar to be erected. Because here the Worshiped One was born, the village of Lumbini has been made free of taxes and a recipient of wealth."

THE BUDDHA CHARITA

OR

CHINESE LIFE OF BUDDHA

THE BIRTH

There was a descendant of the Ikshvaku family, an invincible Sakya monarch, pure in mind and of unspotted virtue, called therefore Pure-rice, or Suddhodana. Joyously revered by all men, as the new moon is welcomed by the world, the king indeed was like the heaven-ruler Sakra, his queen like the divine Saki. Strong and calm of purpose as the earth, pure in mind as the water-lily, her name, figuratively assumed, Maya, she was in truth incapable of class-comparison. On her in likeness as the heavenly queen descended the spirit and entered her womb. A mother, but free from grief or pain, she was without any false or illusory mind. Disliking the clamorous ways of the world, she remembered the excellent garden of Lumbini, a pleasant spot, a quiet forest retreat, with its trickling fountains, and blooming flowers and fruits. Quiet and peaceful, delighting in meditation, respectfully she asked the king for liberty to roam therein; the king, understanding her earnest desire, was seized with a seldom-felt anxiety to grant her request. He commanded his kinsfolk, within and without the palace, to repair with her to that garden shade; and now the queen Maya knew that her time for child-bearing was come. She rested calmly on a beautiful couch, surrounded by a hundred thousand female attendants; it was the eighth day of the fourth moon, a season of serene and agreeable character.

Whilst she thus religiously observed the rules of a pure discipline, Bodhisattva was born from her right side, come to deliver the world, constrained by great pity, without causing his mother pain or anguish. As King Yu-liu was born from the thigh, as King Pi-t'au was born from the hand, as

King Man-to was born from the top of the head, as King Kai-k'ha was born from the arm-pit, so also was Bodhisattva on the day of his birth produced from the right side; gradually emerging from the womb, he shed in every direction the rays of his glory. As one born from recumbent space, and not through the gates of life, through countless kalpas, practising virtue, self-conscious he came forth to life, without confusion. Calm and collected, not falling headlong was he born, gloriously manifested, perfectly adorned, sparkling with light he came from the womb, as when the sun first rises from the East.

Men indeed regarded his exceeding great glory, yet their sight remained uninjured: he allowed them to gaze, the brightness of his person concealed for the time, as when we look upon the moon in the heavens. His body, nevertheless, was effulgent with light, and like the sun which eclipses the shining of the lamp, so the true gold-like beauty of Bodhisattva shone forth, and was diffused everywhere. Upright and firm and unconfused in mind, he deliberately took seven steps, the soles of his feet resting evenly upon the ground as he went, his footmarks remained bright as seven stars.

Moving like the lion, king of beasts, and looking earnestly toward the four quarters, penetrating to the center the principles of truth, he spake thus with the fullest assurance: "This birth is in the condition of a Buddha; after this I have done with renewed birth; now only am I born this once, for the purpose of saving all the world."

And now from the midst of heaven there descended two streams of pure water, one warm, the other cold, and baptized his head, causing refreshment to his body. And now he is placed in the precious palace-hall, a jeweled couch for him to sleep upon, and the heavenly kings with their golden flowery hands hold fast the four feet of the bed. Meanwhile the Devas in space, seizing their jeweled canopies, attending, raise in responsive harmony their heavenly songs, to encourage him to accomplish his perfect purpose.

Then the Naga-ragas filled with joy, earnestly desiring to show their reverence for the most excellent law, as they

had paid honor to the former Buddhas, now went to meet Bodhisattva; they scattered before him Mandara flowers, rejoicing with heartfelt joy to pay such religious homage; and so, again, Tathagata having appeared in the world, the Suddha angels rejoiced with gladness; with no selfish or partial joy, but for the sake of religion they rejoiced, because creation, engulfed in the ocean of pain, was now to obtain perfect release.

Then the precious Mountain-raga, Sumeru, firmly holding this great earth when Bodhisattva appeared in the world, was swayed by the wind of his perfected merit. On every hand the world was greatly shaken, as the wind drives the tossing boat; so also the minutest atoms of sandal perfume, and the hidden sweetness of precious lilies floated on the air, and rose through space, and then commingling, came back to earth; so again the garments of Devas descending from heaven touching the body, caused delightful thrills of joy; the sun and the moon with constant course redoubled the brilliancy of their light, whilst in the world the fire's gleam of itself prevailed without the use of fuel. Pure water, cool and refreshing from the springs, flowed here and there, self-caused; in the palace all the waiting women were filled with joy at such an unprecedented event. Proceeding all in company, they drink and bathe themselves; in all arose calm and delightful thoughts; countless inferior Devas, delighting in religion, like clouds assembled.

In the garden of Lumbini, filling the spaces between the trees, rare and special flowers, in great abundance, bloomed out of season. All cruel and malevolent kinds of beings, together conceived a loving heart; all diseases and afflictions among men without a cure applied, of themselves were healed. The various cries and confusing sounds of beasts were hushed, and silence reigned; the stagnant water of the river-courses flowed apace, whilst the polluted streams became clear and pure. No clouds gathered throughout the heavens, whilst angelic music, self-caused, was heard around; the whole world of sentient creatures enjoyed peace and universal tranquillity.

Just as when a country visited by desolation suddenly obtains an enlightened ruler, so when Bodhisattva was born he came to remove the sorrows of all living things.

Mara,¹ the heavenly monarch, alone was grieved and rejoiced not. The Royal Father (Suddhodana), beholding his son, strange and miraculous, as to his birth, though self-possessed and assured in his soul, was yet moved with astonishment, and his countenance changed, whilst he alternately weighed with himself the meaning of such an event, now rejoiced and now distressed.

The queen-mother beholding her child, born thus contrary to laws of nature, her timorous woman's heart was doubtful; her mind, through fear, swayed between extremes: Not distinguishing the happy from the sad portents, again and again she gave way to grief; and now the aged women of the world, in a confused way supplicating heavenly guidance, implored the gods to whom their rites were paid, to bless the child; to cause peace to rest upon the royal child. Now there was at this time in the grove, a certain soothsayer, a brahmin, of dignified mien and wide-spread renown, famed for his skill and scholarship; beholding the signs, his heart rejoiced, and he exulted at the miraculous event. Knowing the king's mind to be somewhat perplexed, he addressed him with truth and earnestness: "Men born in the world chiefly desire to have a son the most renowned; but now the king, like the moon when full, should feel in himself a perfect joy, having begotten an unequaled son, for by this the king will become illustrious among his race; let then his heart be joyful and glad, banish all anxiety and doubt, the spiritual omens that are everywhere manifested indicate for your house and dominion a course of continued prosperity. The most excellently endowed child now born will bring deliverance to the entire world: none but a heavenly teacher has a body such as this, golden-colored, gloriously resplendent. One endowed

¹ Mara, the king of the world of desire. According to the Buddhist theology he is the god of sensual love. He holds the world in sin. He was the enemy of Buddha, and endeavored in every way to defeat him. He is also described as the king of death.

with such transcendent marks must reach the state of Samyak-Sambodhi, or, if he be induced to engage in worldly delights, then he must become a universal monarch; everywhere recognized as the ruler of the great earth, mighty in his righteous government, as a monarch ruling the four empires, uniting under his sway all other rulers, as among all lesser lights, the sun's brightness is by far the most excellent. But if he seek a dwelling among the mountain forests, with single heart searching for deliverance, having arrived at the perfection of true wisdom, he will become illustrious throughout the world; for as Mount Sumeru is monarch among all mountains, or, as gold is chief among all precious things; or, as the ocean is supreme among all streams; or, as the moon is first among the stars; or, as the sun is brightest of all luminaries, so Tathagata, born in this world, is the most eminent of men; his eyes clear and expanding, the lashes both above and below moving with the lid, the iris of the eye of a clear blue color, in shape like the moon when half full — such characteristics as these, without contradiction, foreshadow the most excellent condition of perfect wisdom."

At this time the king addressed the twice-born,² "If it be as you say, with respect to these miraculous signs, that they indicate such consequences, then no such case has happened with former kings, nor down to our time has such a thing occurred." The brahmin addressed the king thus, "Say not so; for it is not right; for with regard to renown and wisdom, personal celebrity, and worldly substance, these four things indeed are not to be considered according to precedent or subsequent; but whatever is produced according to nature, such things are liable to the law of cause and effect; but now whilst I recount some parallels let the king attentively listen: Bhrigu, Angira, these two of Rishi family, having passed many years apart from men, each begat an excellently endowed son; Brihaspati with Sukra, skilful in making royal treatises, not derived from former families (or tribes); Sarasvata, the Rishi, whose works have long disappeared, begat a son, Po-lo-sa, who compiled illustrious Sutras and

² That is, the brahmin wearing the twice-born thread.

Shastras; that which now we know and see is not therefore dependent on previous connection; Vyasa, the Rishi, the author of numerous treatises, after his death had among his descendants Poh-mi (Valmiki), who extensively collected Gatha sections; Atri, the Rishi, not understanding the sectional treatise on medicine, afterward begat Atreya, who was able to control diseases; the twice-born Rishi Kusi (Kusika), not occupied with heretical treatises, afterward begat Kia-ti-na-raga, who thoroughly understood heretical systems; the sugar-cane monarch, who began his line, could not restrain the tide of the sea, but Sagara-raga, his descendant, who begat a thousand royal sons, he could control the tide of the great sea so that it should come no farther. Ganaka, the Rishi, without a teacher acquired power of abstraction. All these, who obtained such renown, acquired powers of themselves; those distinguished before were afterward forgotten; those before forgotten became afterward distinguished; kings like these and god-like Rishis have no need of family inheritance, and therefore the world need not regard those going before or following. So, mighty king! is it with you: you should experience true joy of heart, and because of this joy should banish forever doubt or anxiety." The king, hearing the words of the seer, was glad, and offered him increasing gifts.

"Now have I begotten a valiant son," he said, "who will establish a wheel authority, whilst I, when old and gray-headed, will go forth to lead a hermit's life, so that my holy, king-like son may not give up the world and wander through mountain forests."

And now near the spot within the garden, there was a Rishi, leading the life of an ascetic; his name was Asita, wonderfully skilful in the interpretation of signs; he approached the gate of the palace; the king, beholding him, exclaimed, "This is none other but Brahmadeva, himself enduring penance from love of true religion, these two characteristics so plainly visible as marks of his austerities." Then the king was much rejoiced; and forthwith he invited him within the palace, and with reverence set before him

entertainment, whilst he, entering the inner palace, rejoiced only in prospect of seeing the royal child.

Although surrounded by the crowd of court ladies, yet still he was as if in desert solitude; and now they place a preaching throne and pay him increased honor and religious reverence, as Antideva raga revered the priest Vasishtha. Then the king, addressing the Rishi, said: "Most fortunate am I, great Rishi! that you have condescended to come here to receive from me becoming gifts and reverence; I pray you therefore enter on your exhortation."

Thus requested and invited, the Rishi felt unutterable joy, and said, "All hail, ever victorious monarch! possessed of all noble, virtuous qualities, loving to meet the desires of those who seek, nobly generous in honoring the true law, conspicuous as a race for wisdom and humanity, with humble mind you pay me homage, as you are bound. Because of your righteous deeds in former lives, now are manifested these excellent fruits; listen to me, then, whilst I declare the reason of the present meeting. As I was coming on the sun's way, I heard the Devas in space declare that the king had born to him a royal son, who would arrive at perfect intelligence; moreover I beheld such other portents, as have constrained me now to seek your presence; desiring to see the Sakya monarch who will erect the standard of the true law."

The king, hearing the Rishi's words, was fully assured; escaping from the net of doubt, he ordered an attendant to bring the prince, to exhibit him to the Rishi. The Rishi, beholding the prince, the thousand-rayed wheel on the soles of his feet, the web-like filament between his fingers, between his eyebrows the white wool-like prominence, his complexion bright and lustrous; seeing these wonderful birth-portents, the seer wept and sighed deeply.

The king beholding the tears of the Rishi, thinking of his son, his soul was overcome, and his breath fast held his swelling heart. Thus alarmed and ill at ease, unconsciously he arose from his seat, and bowing his head at the Rishi's feet, he addressed him in these words: "This son of mine, born

thus wonderfully, beautiful in face, and surpassingly graceful, little different from the gods in form, giving promise of superiority in the world, ah! why has he caused thee grief and pain? Forbid it, that my son should die! or should be short-lived! — the thought creates in me grief and anxiety; that one athirst, within reach of the eternal draught,³ should after all reject and lose it! sad indeed! Forbid it, he should lose his wealth and treasure! dead to his house! lost to his country! for he who has a prosperous son in life gives pledge that his country's weal is well secured; and then, coming to die, my heart will rest content, rejoicing in the thought of offspring surviving me; even as a man possessed of two eyes, one of which keeps watch, while the other sleeps; not like the frost-flower of autumn, which, though it seems to bloom, is not a reality. A man who, midst his tribe and kindred, deeply loves a spotless son, at every proper time in recollection of it has joy; oh that you would cause me to revive!"

The Rishi, knowing the king-sire to be thus greatly afflicted at heart, immediately addressed the Maharaja: "Let not the king be for a moment anxious! the words I have spoken to the king, let him ponder these, and not permit himself to doubt; the portents now are as they were before, cherish then no other thoughts! But recollecting I myself am old, on that account I could not hold my tears; for now my end is coming on. But this son of thine will rule the world, born for the sake of all that lives! this is indeed one difficult to meet with; he shall give up his royal estate, escape from the domain of the five desires, with resolution and with diligence practise austerities, and then awakening, grasp the truth. Then constantly, for the world's sake (all living things), destroying the impediments of ignorance and darkness, he shall give to all enduring light, the brightness of the sun of perfect wisdom. All flesh submerged in the sea of sorrow; all diseases collected as the bubbling froth; decay and age

³ The "eternal draught" or "sweet dew" of Ambrosia. This expression is constantly used in Buddhist writings. It corresponds with the Pali *amatam*, the "drink of the gods."

like the wild billows; death like the engulfing ocean; embarking lightly in the boat of wisdom he will save the world from all these perils, by wisdom stemming back the flood. His pure teaching like to the neighboring shore, the power of meditation, like a cool lake, will be enough for all the unexpected birds; thus deep and full and wide is the great river of the true law; all creatures parched by the drought of lust may freely drink thereof, without stint; those enchained in the domain of the five desires, those driven along by many sorrows, and deceived amid the wilderness of birth and death, in ignorance of the way of escape, for these Bodhisattva has been born in the world, to open out a way of salvation. The fire of lust and covetousness, burning with the fuel of the objects of sense, he has caused the cloud of his mercy to rise, so that the rain of the law may extinguish them. The heavy gates of gloomy unbelief, fast kept by covetousness and lust, within which are confined all living things, he opens and gives free deliverance. With the tweezers of his diamond wisdom he plucks out the opposing principles of lustful desire. In the self-twined meshes of folly and ignorance all flesh poor and in misery, helplessly lying, the king of the law has come forth, to rescue these from bondage. Let not the king in respect of this his son encourage in himself one thought of doubt or pain; but rather let him grieve on account of the world, led captive by desire, opposed to truth; but I, indeed, amid the ruins of old age and death, am far removed from the meritorious condition of the holy one, possessed indeed of powers of abstraction, yet not within reach of the gain he will give, to be derived from his teaching as the Bodhisattva; not permitted to hear his righteous law, my body worn out, after death, alas! destined to be born as a Deva⁴ still liable to the three calamities, old age, decay, and death, therefore I weep."

The king and all his household attendants, hearing the words of the Rishi, knowing the cause of his regretful sorrow,

⁴ The condition of the highest Deva, according to Buddhism, does not exempt him from re-birth; subject to the calamities incident on such a renewal of life.

banished from their minds all further anxiety: "And now," the king said, "to have begotten this excellent son gives me rest at heart; but that he should leave his kingdom and home, and practise the life of an ascetic, not anxious to ensure the stability of the kingdom, the thought of this still brings with it pain."

At this time the Rishi, turning to the king with true words, said, "It must be even as the king anticipates, he will surely arrive at perfect enlightenment." Thus having appeased every anxious heart among the king's household, the Rishi by his own inherent spiritual power ascended into space and disappeared.

At this time Suddhodana raga, seeing the excellent marks (predictive signs) of his son, and, moreover, hearing the words of Asita, certifying that which would surely happen, was greatly affected with reverence to the child: he redoubled measures for its protection, and was filled with constant thought; moreover, he issued decrees through the empire, to liberate all captives in prison, according to the custom when a royal son was born, giving the usual largess, in agreement with the directions of the Sacred Books, and extending his gifts to all; all these things he did completely. When the child was ten days old, his father's mind being now quite tranquil, he announced a sacrifice to all the gods, and prepared to give liberal offerings to all the religious bodies; Sramanas and Brâhmanas invoked by their prayers a blessing from the gods, whilst he bestowed gifts on the royal kinspeople and the ministers and the poor within the country; the women who dwelt in the city or the villages, all those who needed cattle or horses or elephants or money, each, according to his necessities, was liberally supplied. Then, selecting by divination a lucky time, they took the child back to his own palace, with a double-feeding white-pure-tooth, carried in a richly-adorned chariot (cradle), with ornaments of every kind and color round his neck; shining with beauty, exceedingly resplendent with unguents. The queen embracing him in her arms, going around, worshiped the heavenly spirits. Afterward she remounted her precious

chariot, surrounded by her waiting women; the king, with his ministers and people, and all the crowd of attendants, leading the way and following, even as the ruler of heaven, Sakra, is surrounded by crowds of Devas; as Mahesvara, when suddenly his six-faced child was born; arranging every kind of present, gave gifts, and asked for blessings; so now the king, when his royal son was born, made all his arrangements in like manner. So Vaisravana, the heavenly king, when Nalakuvara was born, surrounded by a concourse of Devas, was filled with joy and much gladness; so the king, now the royal prince was born, in the kingdom of Kapila, his people and all his subjects were likewise filled with joy.

LIVING IN THE PALACE

And now in the household of Suddhodana raga, because of the birth of the royal prince, his clansmen and younger brethren, with his ministers, were all generously disposed, whilst elephants, horses and chariots, and the wealth of the country, and precious vessels, daily increased and abounded, being produced wherever requisite; so, too, countless hidden treasures came of themselves from the earth. From the midst of the pure snowy mountains a wild herd of white elephants, without noise, of themselves, came; not curbed by any, self-subdued, every kind of colored horse, in shape and quality surpassingly excellent, with sparkling jeweled manes and flowing tails, came prancing round as if with wings; these too, born in the desert, came at the right time, of themselves. A herd of pure-colored, well-proportioned cows, fat and fleshy, and remarkable for beauty, giving fragrant and pure milk with equal flow, came together in great number at this propitious time. Enmity and envy gave way to peace; content and rest prevailed on every side; whilst there was closer union amongst the true of heart, discord and variance were entirely appeased; the gentle air distilled a seasonable rain, no crash of storm or tempest was heard, the springing seeds, not waiting for their time, grew up apace and yielded abundant increase; the five cereals grew ripe with scented grain, soft and glutinous, easy of digestion; all

creatures big with young possessed their bodies in ease and their frames well gathered. All men, even those who had not received the seeds of instruction derived from the four holy ones;⁵ all these, throughout the world, born under the control of selfish appetite, without any thought for others' goods, had no proud, envious longings; no angry, hateful thoughts. All the temples of the gods and sacred shrines, the gardens, wells, and fountains—all these like things in heaven, produced of themselves, at the proper time, their several adornments. There was no famishing hunger, the soldiers' weapons were at rest; all diseases disappeared; throughout the kingdom all the people were bound close in family love and friendship; piously affectioned they indulged in mutual pleasures, there were no impure or polluting desires; they sought their daily gain righteously, no covetous money-loving spirit prevailed, but with religious purpose they gave liberally; there was no thought of any reward or return, but all practised the four rules of purity; and every hateful thought was suppressed and destroyed. Even as in days gone by, Manu raga begat a child called "Brilliancy of the Sun," on which there prevailed through the country great prosperity, and all wickedness came to an end; so now the king having begotten a royal prince, these marks of prosperity were seen; and because of such a course of propitious signs, the child was named Siddhartha.⁶ And now his royal mother, the queen Maya, beholding her son born under such circumstances, beautiful as a child of heaven, adorned with every excellent distinction, from excessive joy which could not be controlled died, and was born in heaven. Then Pragapati Gautami, beholding the prince, like an angel, with beauty seldom seen on earth, seeing him thus born and now his mother dead, loved and nourished

⁵ This seems to mean that those who had not received benefit from the teaching of the four previous Buddhas, that even these were placable and well-disposed.

⁶ The description here given of the peace and content prevailing in the world on the birth of Bodhisattva (and his name given to him in consequence) resembles the account of the golden age in classic authors.

him as her own child; and the child regarded her as his mother.

So as the light of the sun or the moon little by little increases, the royal child also increased each day in every mental excellency and beauty of person; his body exhaled the perfume of priceless sandalwood, decorated with the famed Gambunada gold gems; divine medicines there were to preserve him in health, glittering necklaces upon his person; the members of tributary States, hearing that the king had an heir born to him, sent their presents and gifts of various kinds: oxen, sheep, deer, horses, and chariots, precious vessels and elegant ornaments, fit to delight the heart of the prince; but though presented with such pleasing trifles, the necklaces and other pretty ornaments, the mind of the prince was unmoved, his bodily frame small indeed, but his heart established; his mind at rest within 'its own high purposes, was not to be disturbed by glittering baubles.

And now he was brought to learn the useful arts, when lo! once instructed he surpassed his teachers. His father, the king, seeing his exceeding talent, and his deep purpose to have done with the world and its allurements, began to inquire as to the names of those in his tribe who were renowned for elegance and refinement. Elegant and graceful, and a lovely maiden, was she whom they called Yasodhara; in every way fitting to become a consort for the prince, and to allure by pleasant wiles his heart. The prince with a mind so far removed from the world, with qualities so distinguished, and with so charming an appearance, like the elder son of Brahmadeva, Sanatkumara (She-na Kiu-ma-lo); the virtuous damsel, lovely and refined, gentle and subdued in manner; majestic like the queen of heaven, constant ever, cheerful night and day, establishing the palace in purity and quiet, full of dignity and exceeding grace, like a lofty hill rising up in space; or as a white autumn cloud; warm or cool according to the season; choosing a proper dwelling according to the year, surrounded by a return of singing women, who join their voices in harmonious heavenly concord, with-

out any jarring or unpleasant sound, exciting in the hearers forgetfulness of worldly cares. As the heavenly Gandharvas of themselves, in their beauteous palaces, cause the singing women to raise heavenly strains, the sounds of which and their beauty ravish both eyes and heart — so Bodhisattva dwelt in his lofty palace, with music such as this. The king, his father, for the prince's sake, dwelt purely in his palace, practising every virtue; delighting in the teaching of the true law, he put away from him every evil companion, that his heart might not be polluted by lust; regarding inordinate desire as poison, keeping his passion and his body in due control, destroying and repressing all trivial thoughts; desiring to enjoy virtuous conversation, loving instruction fit to subdue the hearts of men, aiming to accomplish the conversion of unbelievers; removing all schemes of opposition from whatever source they came by the enlightening power of his doctrine, aiming to save the entire world; thus he desired that the body of the people should obtain rest; even as we desire to give peace to our children, so did he long to give rest to the world. He also attended to his religious duties, sacrificing by fire to all the spirits, with clasped hands adoring the moon, bathing his body in the waters of the Ganges; cleansing his heart in the waters of religion, performing his duties with no private aim, but regarding his child and the people at large; loving righteous conversation, righteous words with loving aim; loving words with no mixture of falsehood, true words imbued by love, and yet withal so modest and self-distrustful, unable on that account to speak as confident of truth; loving to all, and yet not loving the world; with no thought of selfishness or covetous desire; aiming to restrain the tongue and in quietness to find rest from wordy contentions, not seeking in the multitude of religious duties to condone for a worldly principle in action, but aiming to benefit the world by a liberal and unostentatious charity; the heart without any contentious thought, but resolved by goodness to subdue the contentious; desiring to mortify the passions, and to destroy every enemy of virtue; not multiplying coarse or unseemly words, but exhorting

to virtue in the use of courteous language; full of sympathy and ready charity, pointing out and practising the way of mutual dependence; receiving and understanding the wisdom of spirits and Rishis; crushing and destroying every cruel and hateful thought. Thus his fame and virtue were widely renowned, and yet himself finally (or, forever) separate from the ties of the world, showing the ability of a master builder, laying a good foundation of virtue, an example for all the earth; so a man's heart composed and at rest, his limbs and all his members will also be at ease. And now the son of Suddhodana, and his virtuous wife Yasodhara, as time went on, growing to full estate, their child Rahula was born; and then Suddhodana raga considered thus: "My son, the prince, having a son born to him, the affairs of the empire will be handed down in succession, and there will be no end to its righteous government; the prince, having begotten a son, will love his son as I love him, and no longer think about leaving his home as an ascetic, but devote himself to the practise of virtue; I now have found complete rest of heart, like one just born to heavenly joys."

Like as in the first days of the kalpa, Rishi kings by the way in which they walked, practising pure and spotless deeds, offered up religious offerings, without harm to living thing, and illustriously prepared an excellent karma, so the king excelling in the excellence of purity in family and excellence of wealth, excelling in strength and every exhibition of prowess, reflected the glory of his name through the world, as the sun sheds abroad his thousand rays. But now, being the king of men, or a king among men, he deemed it right to exhibit his son's prowess, for the sake of his family and kin, to exhibit him; to increase his family's renown, his glory spread so high as even to obtain the name of "God begotten"; and having partaken of these heavenly joys, enjoying the happiness of increased wisdom; understanding the truth by his own righteousness, derived from previous hearing of the truth. Would that this might lead my son, he prayed, to love his child and not forsake his home; the kings of all countries, whose sons have not yet grown up,

have prevented them exercising authority in the empire, in order to give their minds relaxation, and for this purpose have provided them with worldly indulgences, so that they may perpetuate the royal seed; so now the king, having begotten a royal son, indulged him in every sort of pleasure; desiring that he might enjoy these worldly delights, and not wish to wander from his home in search of wisdom. In former times the Bodhisattva kings, although their way (life) has been restrained, have yet enjoyed the pleasures of the world, and when they have begotten a son, then separating themselves from family ties, have afterward entered the solitude of the mountains, to prepare themselves in the way of a silent recluse.

DISGUST AT SORROW

Without are pleasant garden glades, flowing fountains, pure refreshing lakes, with every kind of flower, and trees with fruit, arranged in rows, deep shade beneath. There, too, are various kinds of wondrous birds, flying and sporting in the midst, and on the surface of the water the four kinds of flowers, bright-colored, giving out their floating scent; minstrel maidens cause their songs and chorded music to invite the prince. He, hearing the sounds of singing, sighs for the pleasures of the garden shades, and cherishing within these happy thoughts, he dwelt upon the joys of an outside excursion; even as the chained elephant ever longs for the free desert wilds.

The royal father, hearing that the prince would enjoy to wander through the gardens, first ordered all his attendant officers to adorn and arrange them, after their several offices: to make level and smooth the king's highway, to remove from the path all offensive matter, all old persons, diseased or deformed, all those suffering through poverty or great grief, so that his son in his present humor might see nothing likely to afflict his heart. The adornments being duly made, the prince was invited to an audience; the king seeing his son approach, patted his head, and looking at the color of his

face, feelings of sorrow and joy intermingled bound him. His mouth willing to speak, his heart restrained.

Now see the jewel-fronted gaudy chariot; the four equally pacing, stately horses; good-tempered and well trained; young and of graceful appearance; perfectly pure and white, and draped with flowery coverings. In the same chariot stands the stately driver; the streets were scattered over with flowers; precious drapery fixed on either side of the way, with dwarfed trees lining the road, costly vessels employed for decoration, hanging canopies and variegated banners, silken curtains, moved by the rustling breeze, spectators arranged on either side of the path. With bodies bent and glistening eyes, eagerly gazing, but not rudely staring, as the blue lotus-flower they bent drooping in the air, ministers and attendants flocking round him, as stars following the chief of the constellation; all uttering the same suppressed whisper of admiration, at a sight so seldom seen in the world; rich and poor; humble and exalted, old and young and middle-aged, all paid the greatest respect, and invoked blessings on the occasion.

So the country-folk and the town-folk, hearing that the prince was coming forth, the well-to-do not waiting for their servants, those asleep and awake not mutually calling to one another, the six kinds of creatures not gathered together and penned, the money not collected and locked up, the doors and gates not fastened, all went pouring along the way on foot; the towers were filled, the mounds by the trees, the windows and the terraces along the streets; with bent bodies fearing to lift their eyes, carefully seeing that there was nothing about them to offend, those seated on high addressing those seated on the ground, those going on the road addressing those passing on high, the mind intent on one object alone; so that if a heavenly form had flown past, or a form entitled to highest respect, there would have been no distraction visible, so intent was the body and so immovable the limbs. And now beautiful as the opening lily, he advances toward the garden glades, wishing to accomplish the words of the

holy prophet (Rishi). The prince, seeing the ways prepared and watered and the joyous holiday appearance of the people; seeing, too, the drapery and chariot, pure, bright, shining, his heart exulted greatly and rejoiced. The people, on their part, gazed at the prince, so beautifully adorned, with all his retinue, like an assembled company of kings gathered to see a heaven-born prince. And now a Deva-raga of the Pure abode, suddenly appears by the side of the road; his form changed into that of an old man, struggling for life, his heart weak and oppressed. The prince seeing the old man, filled with apprehension, asked his charioteer, "What kind of man is this? his head white and his shoulders bent, his eyes bleared and his body withered, holding a stick to support him along the way. Is his body suddenly dried up by the heat, or has he been born in this way?" The charioteer, his heart much embarrassed, scarcely dared to answer truly till the pure-born (Deva) added his spiritual power, and caused him to frame a reply in true words: "His appearance changed, his vital powers decayed, filled with sorrow, with little pleasure, his spirits gone, his members nerveless, these are the indications of what is called 'old age.' This man was once a sucking child, brought up and nourished at his mother's breast, and as a youth full of sportive life, handsome, and in enjoyment of the five pleasures; as years passed on, his frame decaying, he is brought now to the waste of age."

The prince greatly agitated and moved, asked his charioteer another question and said, "Is yonder man the only one afflicted with age, or shall I, and others also, be such as he?" The charioteer again replied and said, "Your highness also inherits this lot: as time goes on, the form itself is changed, and this must doubtless come, beyond all hindrance. The youthful form must wear the garb of age; throughout the world, this is the common lot."

Bodhisattva, who had long prepared the foundation of pure and spotless wisdom, broadly setting the root of every high quality, with a view to gather large fruit in his present life, hearing these words respecting the sorrow of age, was

afflicted in mind, and his hair stood upright. Just as the roll of the thunder and the storm alarm and put to flight the cattle, so was Bodhisattva affected by the words; shaking with apprehension, he deeply sighed; constrained at heart because of the pain of age; with shaking head and constant gaze, he thought upon this misery of decay; what joy or pleasure can men take, he thought, in that which soon must wither, stricken by the marks of age; affecting all without exception; though gifted now with youth and strength, yet not one but soon must change and pine away. The eye beholding such signs as these before it, how can it not be oppressed by a desire to escape? Bodhisattva then addressed the charioteer: "Quickly turn your chariot and go back. Ever thinking on this subject of old age approaching, what pleasures now can these gardens afford, the years of my life like the fast-flying wind; turn your chariot, and with speedy wheels take me to my palace." And so his heart keeping in the same sad tone, he was as one who returns to a place of entombment; unaffected by any engagement or employment, so he found no rest in anything within his home.

The king hearing of his son's sadness urged his companions to induce him again to go abroad, and forthwith incited his ministers and attendants to decorate the gardens even more than before. The Deva then caused himself to appear as a sick man; struggling for life, he stood by the wayside, his body swollen and disfigured, sighing with deep-drawn groans; his hands and knees contracted and sore with disease, his tears flowing as he piteously muttered his petition. The prince asked his charioteer, "What sort of man, again, is this?"

Replying, he said, "This is a sick man. The four elements all confused and disordered, worn and feeble, with no remaining strength, bent down with weakness, looking to his fellow men for help." The prince, hearing the words thus spoken, immediately became sad and depressed in heart, and asked, "Is this the only man afflicted thus, or are others liable to the same calamity?" In reply he said, "Through all the world, men are subject to the same condition; those

who have bodies must endure affliction, the poor and ignorant, as well as the rich and great." The prince, when these words met his ears, was oppressed with anxious thought and grief; his body and his mind were moved throughout, just as the moon upon the ruffled tide. "Placed thus in the great furnace of affliction, say! what rest or quiet can there be! Alas! that worldly men, blinded by ignorance and oppressed with dark delusion, though the robber sickness may appear at any time, yet live with blithe and joyous hearts!" On this, turning his chariot back again, he grieved to think upon the pain of sickness. As a man beaten and wounded sore, with body weakened, leans upon his staff, so dwelt he in the seclusion of his palace, lone-seeking, hating worldly pleasures.

The king, hearing once more of his son's return, asked anxiously the reason why, and in reply was told—"he saw the pain of sickness." The king, in fear, like one beside himself, roundly blamed the keepers of the way; his heart constrained, his lips spoke not; again he increased the crowd of music-women, the sounds of merriment twice louder than aforetime, if by these sounds and sights the prince might be gratified; and indulging worldly feelings, might not hate his home. Night and day the charm of melody increased, but his heart was still unmoved by it. The king himself then went forth to observe everything successively, and to make the gardens even yet more attractive, selecting with care the attendant women, that they might excel in every point of personal beauty; quick in wit and able to arrange matters well, fit to ensnare men by their winning looks; he placed additional keepers along the king's way, he strictly ordered every offensive sight to be removed, and earnestly exhorted the illustrious coachman to look well and pick out the road as he went. And now that Deva of the Pure abode again caused the appearance of a dead man; four persons carrying the corpse lifted it on high, and appeared to be going on in front of Bodhisattva; the surrounding people saw it not, but only Bodhisattva and the charioteer. Once more he asked, "What is this they carry? with streamers and flowers of

every choice description, whilst the followers are overwhelmed with grief, tearing their hair and wailing piteously." And now the gods instructing the coachman, he replied and said, "This is a dead man; all his powers of body destroyed, life departed; his heart without thought, his intellect dispersed; his spirit gone, his form withered and decayed; stretched out as a dead log; family ties broken — all his friends who once loved him, clad in white cerements, now no longer delighting to behold him, remove him to lie in some hollow ditch tomb." The prince hearing the name of Death, his heart constrained by painful thoughts, he asked, "Is this the only dead man, or does the world contain like instances?" Replying thus he said, "All, everywhere, the same; he who begins his life must end it likewise; the strong and lusty and the middle-aged, having a body, can not but decay and die." The prince was now harassed and perplexed in mind; his body bent upon the chariot leaning-board, with bated breath and struggling accents, stammered thus, "Oh worldly men! how fatally deluded! beholding everywhere the body brought to dust, yet everywhere the more carelessly living; the heart is neither lifeless wood nor stone, and yet it thinks not 'all is vanishing!'" Then turning, he directed his chariot to go back, and no longer waste his time in wandering. How could he, whilst in fear of instant death, go wandering here and there with lightened heart! The charioteer, remembering the king's exhortation, feared much nor dared go back; straightforward then he pressed his panting steeds, passed onward to the gardens, came to the groves and babbling streams of crystal water, the pleasant trees, spread out with gaudy verdure, the noble living things and varied beasts so wonderful, the flying creatures and their notes melodious; all charming and delightful to the eye and ear, even as the heavenly Nandavana.

PUTTING AWAY DESIRE

On the prince entering the garden the women came around to pay him court; and to arouse in him thoughts frivolous; with ogling ways and deep design, each one setting herself off

to best advantage; or joining together in harmonious concert, clapping their hands, or moving their feet in unison, or joining close, body to body, limb to limb; or indulging in smart repartees, and mutual smiles; or assuming a thoughtful saddened countenance, and so by sympathy to please the prince, and provoke in him a heart affected by love. But all the women beheld the prince, clouded in brow, and his god-like body not exhibiting its wonted signs of beauty; fair in bodily appearance, surpassingly lovely, all looked upward as they gazed, as when we call upon the moon Deva to come; but all their subtle devices were ineffectual to move Bodhisattva's heart.

At last commingling together they join and look astonished and in fear, silent without a word. Then there was a Brahmaputra, whose name was called Udayi (Yau-to-i). He, addressing the women, said, "Now all of you, so graceful and fair, see if you can not by your combined power hit on some device; for beauty's power is not forever. Still it holds the world in bondage, by secret ways and lustful arts; but no such loveliness in all the world as yours, equal to that of heavenly nymphs; the gods beholding it would leave their queens, spirits and Rishis would be misled by it; why not then the prince, the son of an earthly king? why should not his feelings be aroused? This prince indeed, though he restrains his heart and holds it fixed, pure-minded, with virtue uncontaminated, not to be overcome by power of women; yet of old there was Sundari (Su-to-li) able to destroy the great Rishi, and to lead him to indulge in love, and so degrade his boasted eminence; undergoing long penance, Gotama fell likewise by the arts of a heavenly queen; Shing-ku, a Rishi putra, practising lustful indulgences according to fancy, was lost. The brahmin Rishi Visvamitra (Pi-she-po), living religiously for ten thousand years, deeply ensnared by a heavenly queen, in one day was completely shipwrecked in faith; thus those enticing women, by their power, overcame the brahmin ascetics; how much more may ye, by your arts, overpower the resolves of the king's son; strive therefore after new devices, let not the king fail in a successor to the

throne; women, though naturally weak, are high and potent in the way of ruling men. What may not their arts accomplish in promoting in men a lustful desire?" At this time all the attendant women, hearing throughout the words of Udayi, increasing their powers of pleasing, as the quiet horse when touched by the whip, went into the presence of the royal prince, and each one strove in the practise of every kind of art. They joined in music and in smiling conversation, raised their eyebrows, showing their white teeth, with ogling looks, glancing one at the other, their light drapery exhibiting their white bodies, daintily moving with mincing gait, acting the part of a bride as if coming gradually nearer, desiring to promote in him a feeling of love, remembering the words of the great king, "With dissolute form and slightly clad, forgetful of modesty and womanly reserve." The prince with resolute heart was silent and still, with unmoved face he sat; even as the great elephant-dragon, whilst the entire herd moves round him; so nothing could disturb or move his heart, dwelling in their midst as in a confined room. Like the divine Sakra, around whom all the Devis assemble, so was the prince as he dwelt in the gardens; the maidens encircling him thus; some arranging their dress, others washing their hands or feet, others perfuming their bodies with scent, others twining flowers for decoration, others making strings for jeweled necklets, others rubbing or striking their bodies, others resting or lying, one beside the other; others, with head inclined, whispering secret words, others engaged in common sports, others talking of amorous things, others assuming lustful attitudes, striving thus to move his heart. But Bodhisattva, peaceful and collected, firm as a rock, difficult to move, hearing all these women's talk, unaffected either to joy or sorrow, was driven still more to serious thought, sighing to witness such strange conduct, and beginning to understand the women's design, by these means to disconcert his mind, not knowing that youthful beauty soon falls, destroyed by old age and death, fading and perishing! This is the great distress! What ignorance and delusion, he reflected, overshadow their minds: "Surely they ought to

consider old age, disease, and death, and day and night stir themselves up to exertion, whilst this sharp double-edged sword hangs over the neck. What room for sport or laughter, beholding those monsters, old age, disease, and death? A man who is unable to resort to this inward knowledge, what is he but a wooden or a plaster man, what heart-consideration in such a case! Like the double tree that appears in the desert, with leaves and fruit all perfect and ripe, the first cut down and destroyed, the other unmoved by apprehension, so it is in the case of the mass of men: they have no understanding either!"

At this time Udayi came to the place where the prince was, and observing his silent and thoughtful mien, unmoved by any desire for indulgence, he forthwith addressed the prince, and said, "The Maharaga, by his former appointment, has selected me to act as friend to his son; may I therefore speak some friendly words? an enlightened friendship is of three sorts: that which removes things unprofitable, promotes that which is real gain, and stands by a friend in adversity. I claim the name of 'enlightened friend,' and would renounce all that is magisterial, but yet not speak lightly or with indifference. What then are the three sources of advantage? Listen, and I will now utter true words, and prove myself a true and sincere adviser. When the years are fresh and ripening, beauty and pleasing qualities in bloom, not to give proper weight to woman's influence, this is a weak man's policy. It is right sometimes to be of a crafty mind, submitting to those little subterfuges which find a place in the heart's undercurrents, and obeying what those thoughts suggest in way of pleasures to be got from dalliance: this is no wrong in a woman's eye! even if now the heart has no desire, yet it is fair to follow such devices; agreement is the joy of woman's heart, acquiescence is the substance (the full) of true adornment; but if a man reject these overtures, he's like a tree deprived of leaves and fruits; why then ought you to yield and acquiesce? that you may share in all these things. Because in taking, there's an end of trouble — no light and changeable thoughts then worry us — for pleasure is the first

and foremost thought of all, the gods themselves can not dispense with it. Lord Sakra was drawn by it to love the wife of Gotama the Rishi; so likewise the Rishi Agastya, through a long period of discipline, practising austerities, from hankering after a heavenly queen (Devi), lost all reward of his religious endeavors, the Rishi Brihaspati, and Kandradeva putra; the Rishi Parasara, and Kavangara (Kia-pin-ke-lo). All these, out of many others, were overcome by woman's love. How much more then, in your case, should you partake in such pleasant joys; nor refuse, with wilful heart, to participate in the worldly delights which your present station, possessed of such advantages, offers you, in the presence of these attendants."

At this time the royal prince, hearing the words of his friend Udayi, so skilfully put, with such fine distinction, cleverly citing worldly instances, answered thus to Udayi: "Thank you for having spoken sincerely to me; let me likewise answer you in the same way, and let your heart suspend its judgment whilst you listen: It is not that I am careless about beauty, or am ignorant of the power of human joys, but only that I see on all the impress of change; therefore my heart is sad and heavy; if these things were sure of lasting, without the ills of age, disease, and death, then would I too take my fill of love; and to the end find no disgust or sadness. If you will undertake to cause these women's beauty not to change or wither in the future, then, though the joy of love may have its evil, still it might hold the mind in thralldom. To know that other men grow old, sicken, and die, would be enough to rob such joys of satisfaction; yet how much more in their own case, knowing this, would discontentment fill the mind; to know such pleasures hasten to decay, and their bodies likewise; if, notwithstanding this, men yield to the power of love, their case indeed is like the very beasts. And now you cite the names of many Rishis, who practised lustful ways in life; their cases likewise cause me sorrow, for in that they did these things, they perished. Again, you cite the name of that illustrious king, who freely gratified his passions, but he, in like way, perished in the act;

know, then, that he was not a conqueror; with smooth words to conceal an intrigue, and to persuade one's neighbor to consent, and by consenting to defile his mind; how can this be called a just device? It is but to seduce one with a hollow lie — such ways are not for me to practise; or, for those who love the truth and honesty; for they are, forsooth, unrighteous ways, and such a disposition is hard to reverence; shaping one's conduct after one's likings, liking this or that, and seeing no harm in it, what method of experience is this! A hollow compliance, and a protesting heart, such method is not for me to follow; but this I know, old age, disease, and death, these are the great afflictions which accumulate, and overwhelm me with their presence; on these I find no friend to speak, alas! alas! Udayi! these, after all, are the great concerns; the pain of birth, old age, disease, and death; this grief is that we have to fear; the eyes see all things falling to decay, and yet the heart finds joy in following them; but I have little strength of purpose, or command; this heart of mine is feeble and distraught, reflecting thus on age, disease, and death. Distracted, as I never was before; sleepless by night and day, how can I then indulge in pleasure? Old age, disease, and death consuming me, their certainty beyond a doubt, and still to have no heavy thoughts, in truth my heart would be a log or stone." Thus the prince, for Uda's sake, used every kind of skilful argument, describing all the pains of pleasure; and not perceiving that the day declined. And now the waiting women all, with music and their various attractions, seeing that all were useless for the end, with shame began to flock back to the city; the prince beholding all the gardens, bereft of their gaudy ornaments, the women all returning home, the place becoming silent and deserted, felt with twofold strength the thought of impermanence. With saddened mien going back, he entered his palace.

The king, his father, hearing of the prince, his heart estranged from thoughts of pleasure, was greatly overcome with sorrow, and like a sword it pierced his heart. Forthwith assembling all his council, he sought of them some means

to gain his end; they all replied, "These sources of desire are not enough to hold and captivate his heart."

LEAVING THE CITY

And so the king increased the means for gratifying the appetite for pleasure; both night and day the joys of music wore out the prince, opposed to pleasure; disgusted with them, he desired their absence, his mind was weaned from all such thoughts, he only thought of age, disease, and death; as the lion wounded by an arrow.

The king then sent his chief ministers, and the most distinguished of his family, young in years and eminent for beauty, as well as for wisdom and dignity of manners, to accompany and rest with him, both night and day, in order to influence the prince's mind. And now within a little interval, the prince again requested the king that he might go abroad.

Once more the chariot and the well-paced horses were prepared, adorned with precious substances and every gem; and then with all the nobles, his associates, surrounding him, he left the city gates. Just as the four kinds of flower, when the sun shines, open out their leaves, so was the prince in all his spiritual splendor; effulgent in the beauty of his youth-time. As he proceeded to the gardens from the city, the road was well prepared, smooth, and wide, the trees were bright with flowers and fruit, his heart was joyous and forgetful of its care.

Now by the roadside, as he beheld the plowmen, plodding along the furrows, and the writhing worms, his heart again was moved with piteous feeling, and anguish pierced his soul afresh; to see those laborers at their toil, struggling with painful work, their bodies bent, their hair disheveled, the dripping sweat upon their faces, their persons fouled with mud and dust; the plowing oxen, too, bent by the yokes, their lolling tongues and gaping mouths. The nature of the prince, loving, compassionate, his mind conceived most poignant sorrow, and nobly moved to sympathy, he groaned with pain; then stooping down he sat upon the ground, and

watched this painful scene of suffering; reflecting on the ways of birth and death! "Alas!" he cried, "for all the world! how dark and ignorant, void of understanding!" And then to give his followers chance of rest, he bade them each repose where'er they list, whilst he beneath the shadow of a Gambu tree, gracefully seated, gave himself to thought. He pondered on the fact of life and death, inconstancy, and endless progress to decay. His heart thus fixed without confusion, the five senses covered and clouded over, lost in possession of enlightenment and insight, he entered on the first pure state of ecstasy. All low desire removed, most perfect peace ensued, and fully now in Samadhi he saw the misery and utter sorrow of the world; the ruin wrought by age, disease, and death; the great misery following on the body's death; and yet men not awakened to the truth! oppressed with others' suffering (age, disease, and death), this load of sorrow weighed his mind. "I now will seek," he said, "a noble law, unlike the worldly methods known to men. I will oppose disease and age and death, and strive against the mischief wrought by these on men."

Thus lost in tranquil contemplation, he considered that youth, vigor, and strength of life, constantly renewing themselves, without long stay, in the end fulfil the rule of ultimate destruction. Thus he pondered, without excessive joy or grief, without hesitation or confusion of thought, without dreaminess or extreme longing, without aversion or discontent, but perfectly at peace, with no hindrance, radiant with the beams of increased illumination. At this time a Deva of the Pure abode, transforming himself into the shape of a bhikku, came to the place where the prince was seated; the prince with due consideration rose to meet him, and asked him who he was. In reply he said, "I am a Shaman, depressed and sad at thought of age, disease, and death; I have left my home to seek some way of rescue, but everywhere I find old age, disease, and death; all things hasten to decay and there is no permanency. Therefore I search for the happiness of something that decays not, that never perishes, that never knows beginning, that looks with equal mind on

enemy and friend, that heeds not wealth nor beauty; the happiness of one who finds repose alone in solitude, in some unfrequented dell, free from molestation, all thoughts about the world destroyed; dwelling in some lonely hermitage, untouched by any worldly source of pollution, begging for food sufficient for the body." And forthwith as he stood before the prince, gradually rising up he disappeared in space.

The prince, with joyful mind, considering, recollected former Buddhas, established thus in perfect dignity of manner; with noble mien and presence, as this visitor. Thus calling things to mind with perfect self-possession, he reached the thought of righteousness, and by what means it can be gained. Indulging thus for some time in thoughts of religious solitude, he now suppressed his feelings and controlled his members, and, rising, turned again toward the city. His followers all flocked after him, calling him to stop and not go far from them, but in his mind these secret thoughts so held him, devising means by which to escape from the world, that though his body moved along the road, his heart was far away among the mountains; even as the bound and captive elephant ever thinks about his desert wilds. The prince now entering the city, there met him men and women, earnest for their several ends; the old besought him for their children, the young sought something for the wife, others sought something for their brethren; all those allied by kinship or by family aimed to obtain their several suits, all of them joined in relationship dreading the pain of separation. And now the prince's heart was filled with joy, as he suddenly heard those words "separation and association." "These are joyful sounds to me," he said, "they assure me that my vow shall be accomplished." Then deeply pondering the joy of "snapped relationship," the idea of Nirvana, deepened and widened in him, his body as a peak of the Golden Mount, his shoulder like the elephant's, his voice like the spring-thunder, his deep-blue eye like that of the king of oxen; his mind full of religious thoughts, his face bright as the full moon, his step like that of the lion king, thus he entered his palace; even as the son of Lord Sakra, or Sakra-

putra, his mind reverential, his person dignified, he went straight to his father's presence, and with head inclined, inquired, "Is the king well?" Then he explained his dread of age, disease, and death, and sought respectfully permission to become a hermit. "For all things in the world," he said, "though now united, tend to separation." Therefore he prayed to leave the world; desiring to find "true deliverance."

His royal father hearing the words "leave the world," was forthwith seized with great heart-trembling, even as the strong wild elephant shakes with his weight the boughs of some young sapling; going forward, seizing the prince's hands, with falling tears, he spake as follows: "Stop! nor speak such words; the time is not yet come for 'a religious life'; you are young and strong, your heart beats full; to lead a religious life frequently involves trouble; it is rarely possible to hold the desires in check, the heart not yet estranged from their enjoyment; to leave your home and lead a painful ascetic life, your heart can hardly yet resolve on such a course. To dwell amidst the desert wilds or lonely dells, this heart of yours would not be perfectly at rest, for though you love religious matters, you are not yet like me in years; you should undertake the kingdom's government, and let me first adopt ascetic life; but to give up your father and your sacred duties, this is not to act religiously; you should suppress this thought of 'leaving home,' and undertake your worldly duties, find your delight in getting an illustrious name, and after this give up your home and family."

The prince, with proper reverence and respectful feelings, again besought his royal father; but promised if he could be saved from four calamities that he would give up the thought of "leaving home." If he would grant him life without end, no disease, nor undesirable old age, and no decay of earthly possessions, then he would obey and give up the thought of "leaving home."

The royal father then addressed the prince, "speak not such words as these, for with respect to these four things,

who is there able to prevent them, or say nay to their approach; asking such things as these, you would provoke men's laughter! But put away this thought of 'leaving home,' and once more take yourself to pleasure."

The prince again besought his father, "If you may not grant me these four prayers, then let me go I pray, and leave my home. Oh! place no difficulties in my path; your son is dwelling in a burning house, would you indeed prevent his leaving it! To solve a doubt is only reasonable, who could forbid a man to seek its explanation? Or if he were forbidden, then by self-destruction he might solve the difficulty, in an unrighteous way: and if he were to do so, who could restrain him after death?"

The royal father, seeing his son's mind so firmly fixed that it could not be turned, and that it would be waste of strength to bandy further words or arguments, forthwith commanded more attendant women, to provoke still more his mind to pleasure; day and night he ordered them to keep the roads and ways, to the end that he might not leave his palace. He moreover ordered all the ministers of the country to come to the place where dwelt the prince, to quote and illustrate the rules of filial piety, hoping to cause him to obey the wishes of the king.

The prince, beholding his royal father bathed with tears and o'erwhelmed with grief, forthwith returned to his abode, and sat himself in silence to consider; all the women of the palace, coming toward him, waited as they circled him, and gazed in silence on his beauteous form. They gazed upon him not with furtive glance, but like the deer in autumn brake looks wistfully at the hunter; around the prince's straight and handsome form, bright as the mountain of true gold (Sumeru). The dancing women gathered doubtingly, waiting to hear him bid them sound their music; repressing every feeling of the heart through fear, even as the deer within the brake; now gradually the day began to wane, the prince still sitting in the evening light, his glory streaming forth in splendor, as the sun lights up Mount Sumeru; thus seated on his jeweled couch, surrounded by the fumes of san-

dalwood, the dancing women took their places round; then sounded forth their heavenly music, even as Vaisaman produces every kind of rare and heavenly sounds. The thoughts which dwelt within the prince's mind entirely drove from him desire for music, and though the sounds filled all the place they fell upon his ear unnoticed. At this time the Deva of the Pure abode, knowing the prince's time was come, the destined time for quitting home, suddenly assumed a form and came to earth, to make the shapes of all the women unattractive, so that they might create disgust, and no desire arise from thought of beauty. Their half-clad forms bent in ungainly attitudes, forgetful in their sleep, their bodies crooked or supine, the instruments of music lying scattered in disorder; leaning and facing one another, or with back to back, or like those beings thrown into the abyss, their jeweled necklets bound about like chains, their clothes and undergarments swathed around their persons; grasping their instruments, stretched along the earth, even as those undergoing punishment at the hands of keepers, their garments in confusion, or like the broken kani flower; or some with bodies leaning in sleep against the wall, in fashion like a hanging bow or horn, or with their hands holding to the window-frames, and looking like an outstretched corpse. Their mouths half opened or else gaping wide, the loathsome dribble trickling forth, their heads uncovered and in wild disorder, like some unreasoning madman's; the flower-wreaths torn and hanging across their face, or slipping off the face upon the ground; others with body raised as if in fearful dread, just like the lonely desert bird; or others pillowed on their neighbor's lap, their hands and feet entwined together, whilst others smiled or knit their brows in turn; some with eyes closed and open mouth, their bodies lying in wild disorder, stretched here and there, like corpses thrown together. And now the prince seated, in his beauty, looked with thought on all the waiting women; before, they had appeared exceeding lovely, their laughing words, their hearts so light and gay, their forms so plump and young, their looks so bright; but now, how changed! so uninviting and repulsive.

And such is woman's disposition! how can they, then, be ever dear, or closely trusted; such false appearances! and unreal pretenses; they only madden and delude the minds of men.

"And now," he said, "I have awakened to the truth! Resolved am I to leave such false society." At this time the Deva of the Pure abode descended and approached, unfastening the doors. The prince, too, at this time rose and walked along, amid the prostrate forms of all the women; with difficulty reaching the inner hall, he called to Kandaka, in these words, "My mind is now athirst and longing for the draught of the fountain of sweet dew; saddle then my horse, and quickly bring it here. I wish to reach the deathless city; my heart is fixed beyond all change, resolved I am and bound by sacred oath; these women, once so charming and enticing, now behold I altogether loathsome; the gates, which were before fast-barred and locked, now stand free and open! these evidences of something supernatural point to a climax of my life."

○ Then Kandaka stood reflecting inwardly, whether to obey or not the prince's order, without informing his royal father of it, and so incur the heaviest punishment.

The Devas then gave spiritual strength; and unperceived the horse equipped came round, with even pace; a gallant steed, with all his jeweled trappings for a rider; high-maned, with flowing tail, broad-backed, short-haired and eared, with belly like the deer's, head like the king of parrots, wide forehead, round and claw-shaped nostrils, breath like the dragon's, with breast and shoulders square, true and sufficient marks of his high breed. The royal prince, stroking the horse's neck, and rubbing down his body, said: "My royal father ever rode on thee, and found thee brave in fight and fearless of the foe; now I desire to rely on thee alike! to carry me far off to the stream (ford) of endless life, to fight against and overcome the opposing force of men, the men who associate in search of pleasure, the men who engage in the search after wealth, the crowds who follow and flatter such persons; in opposing sorrow, friendly help is difficult

to find, in seeking religious truth there must be rare enlightenment; let us then be knit together thus as friends; then, at last, there will be rest from sorrow. But now I wish to go abroad, to give deliverance from pain; now then, for your own sake it is, and for the sake of all your kind, that you should exert your strength, with noble pace, without lagging or weariness." Having thus exhorted him, he bestrode his horse and, grasping the reins, proceeded forth; the man like the sun shining forth from his tabernacle, the horse like the white floating cloud, exerting himself but without exciting haste, his breath concealed and without snorting; four spirits (Devas) accompanying him, held up his feet, heedfully concealing his advance, silently and without noise; the heavy gates fastened and barred, the heavenly spirits of themselves caused to open. Reverencing deeply the virtuous father, loving deeply the unequalled son, equally affected with love toward all the members of his family these Devas took their place.

Suppressing his feelings, but not extinguishing his memory, lightly he advanced and proceeded beyond the city, pure and spotless as the lily-flowers which spring from the mud; looking up with earnestness at his father's palace, he announced his purpose — unwitnessed and unwritten — "If I escape not birth, old age, and death, for evermore I pass not thus along." All the concourse of Devas, the space-filling Nagas and spirits followed joyfully and exclaimed. "Well! well!" in confirmation of the true words he spoke. The Nagas and the company of Devas acquired a condition of heart difficult to obtain, and each with his own inherent light led on the way shedding forth their brightness. Thus man and horse, both strong of heart, went onward, lost to sight like streaming stars, but ere the eastern quarter flashed with light, they had advanced three yoganas. . . .

[The details of the flight are here omitted, the sorrow of those left behind, the search for truth, the gathering of the five bhikkus or disciples, the long sequence of meditations

by which the prince become Bodhisattva, or one about to be Buddha. Then follows:]

THE PLACE OF PAIN-SUFFERING

The Bodhisattva went on in search of a better system, and came at last to Mount Kia-ke (the forest of mortification), where was a town called Pain-suffering forest. Here the five bhikkus had gone before. When then he beheld these five, virtuously keeping in check their senses, holding to the rules of moral conduct, practising mortification, dwelling in that grove of mortification; occupying a spot beside the Nairangana river, perfectly composed and filled with contentment, Bodhisattva forthwith by them selecting one spot, quietly gave himself to thought. The five bhikkus knowing him with earnest heart to be seeking escape, offered him their services with devotion, as if reverencing Isvara Deva.

Having finished their attentions and dutiful services, then going on he took his seat not far off, as one about to enter on a course of religious practise, composing all his members as he desired. Bodhisattva diligently applied himself to "means," as one about to cross over old age, disease, and death. With full purpose of heart he set himself to endure mortification, to restrain every bodily passion, and give up thought about sustenance, with purity of heart to observe the fast-rules, which no worldly man can bear; silent and still, lost in thoughtful meditation; and so for six years he continued, each day eating one hemp grain, his bodily form shrunk and attenuated, seeking how to cross the sea of birth and death, exercising himself still deeper and advancing further; making his way perfect by the disentanglements of true wisdom, not eating, and yet not looking to that as a cause of emancipation, his four members although exceedingly weak, his heart of wisdom increasing yet more and more in light; his spirit free, his body light and refined, his name spreading far and wide, as "highly gifted," even as the moon when first produced, or as the Kumuda flower

spreading out its sweetness. Everywhere through the country his excellent fame extended; the daughters of the lord of the place both coming to see him, his mortified body like a withered branch, just completing the period of six years, fearing the sorrow of birth and death, seeking earnestly the method of true wisdom, he came to the conviction that these were not the means to extinguish desire and produce ecstatic contemplation; nor yet the means by which in former time, seated underneath the Gambu tree, he arrived at that miraculous condition, that surely was the proper way, he thought, the way opposed to this of "withered body."

"I should therefore rather seek strength of body, by drink and food refresh my members, and with contentment cause my mind to rest. My mind at rest, I shall enjoy silent composure; composure is the trap for getting ecstasy (*dhyana*); while in ecstasy perceiving the true law, then the force of truth obtained, disentanglement will follow. And thus composed, enjoying perfect quiet, old age and death are put away; and then defilement is escaped by this first means; thus then by equal steps the excellent law results from life restored by food and drink."

Having carefully considered this principle, bathing in the Nairangana river, he desired afterward to leave the water, but owing to extreme exhaustion was unable to rise; then a heavenly spirit holding out a branch, taking this in his hand he raised himself and came forth. At this time on the opposite side of the grove there was a certain chief herdsman, whose eldest daughter was called Nanda. One of the Sudhavaśa Devas addressing her said, "Bodhisattva dwells in the grove, go you then, and present to him a religious offering."

Nanda Balada (or Balaga or Baladhya) with joy came to the spot, above her hands (*i.e.*, on her wrists) white chalcidony bracelets, her clothing of a gray color; the gray and the white together, contrasted in the light, as the colors of the rounded river bubble; with simple heart and quickened step she came, and, bowing down at Bodhisattva's feet, she reverently offered him perfumed rice milk, begging him

of his condescension to accept it. Bodhisattva taking it, partook of it at once, whilst she received, even then, the fruits of her religious act. Having eaten it, all his members refreshed, he became capable of receiving Bodhi; his body and limbs glistening with renewed strength, and his energies swelling higher still, as the hundred streams swell the sea, or the first quartered moon daily increases in brightness. The five bhikkus having witnessed this, perturbed, were filled with suspicious reflection; they supposed that his religious zeal was flagging, and that he was leaving and looking for a better abode, as though he had obtained deliverance, the five elements entirely removed.

Bodhisattva wandered on alone, directing his course to that "fortunate" tree,⁷ beneath whose shade he might accomplish his search after complete enlightenment. Over the ground wide and level, producing soft and pliant grass, easily he advanced with lion step, pace by pace, whilst the earth shook withal; and as it shook, Kala naga aroused, was filled with joy, as his eyes were opened to the light. Forthwith he exclaimed: "When formerly I saw the Buddhas of old, there was the sign of an earthquake as now; the virtues of a Muni are so great in majesty, that the great earth can not endure them; as step by step his foot treads upon the ground, so is there heard the sound of the rumbling earth-shaking; a brilliant light now illumines the world, as the shining of the rising sun; five hundred bluish-tinted birds I see, wheeling round to the right, flying through space; a gentle, soft, and cooling breeze blows around in an agreeable way; all these auspicious signs are the same as those of former Buddhas; wherefore I know that this Bodhisattva will certainly arrive at perfect wisdom. And now, behold! from yonder man, a grass-cutter, he obtains some pure and pliant grass, which spreading out beneath the tree, with upright body, there he takes his seat; his feet placed under him, not carelessly arranged, moving to and fro, but like the firmly fixed and compact body of a Naga; nor shall he rise again from off his seat till he has completed his undertak-

⁷ The "fortunate tree," the tree "of good omen," the Bodhi tree.

ing." And so he (the Naga) uttered these words by way of confirmation. The heavenly Nagas, filled with joy, caused a cool refreshing breeze to rise; the trees and grass were yet unmoved by it, and all the beasts, quiet and silent, looked on in wonderment.

These are the signs that Bodhisattva will certainly attain enlightenment.

DEFEATS MARA

The great Rishi, of the royal tribe of Rishis, beneath the Bodhi tree firmly established, resolved by oath to perfect the way of complete deliverance.

The spirits, Nagas, and the heavenly multitude, all were filled with joy; but Mara Devaraga, enemy of religion, alone was grieved, and rejoiced not; lord of the five desires, skilled in all the arts of warfare, the foe of those who seek deliverance, therefore his name is rightly given Pisuna. Now this Mara raga had three daughters, mincingly beautiful and of a pleasant countenance, in every way fit by artful ways to inflame a man with love, highest in this respect among the Devis. The first was named Yuh-yen, the second Neng-yueh-gin, the third Ngai-loh. These three, at this time, advanced together, and addressed their father Pisuna and said: "May we not know the trouble that afflicts you?"

The father, calming his feelings, addressed his daughters thus: "The world has now a great Muni, he has taken a strong oath as a helmet, he holds a mighty bow in his hand, wisdom is the diamond shaft he uses. His object is to get the mastery in the world, to ruin and destroy my territory; I am myself unequal to him, for all men will believe in him, and all find refuge in the way of his salvation; then will my land be desert and unoccupied. But as when a man transgresses the laws of morality, his body is then empty. So now, the eye of wisdom, not yet opened in this man, whilst my empire still has peace, I will go and overturn his purpose, and break down and divide the ridge-pole of his house."

Seizing then his bow and his five arrows, with all his retinue of male and female attendants, he went to that grove of "fortunate rest" with the vow that the world should not find peace. Then seeing the Muni, quiet and still, preparing to cross the sea of the three worlds, in his left hand grasping his bow, with his right hand pointing his arrow, he addressed Bodhisattva and said: "Kshatriya! rise up quickly! for you may well fear! your death is at hand; you may practise your own religious system, but let go this effort after the law of deliverance for others; wage warfare in the field of charity as a cause of merit, appease the tumultuous world, and so in the end reach your reward in heaven. This is a way renowned and well established, in which former saints have walked, Rishis and kings and men of eminence; but this system of penury and alms-begging is unworthy of you. Now then if you rise not, you had best consider with yourself, that if you give not up your vow, and tempt me to let fly an arrow, how that Aila, grandchild of Soma, by one of these arrows just touched, as by a fanning of the wind, lost his reason and became a madman. And how the Rishi Vimala, practising austerities, hearing the sound of one of these darts, his heart possessed by great fear, bewildered and darkened he lost his true nature; how much less can you — a late-born one — hope to escape this dart of mine. Quickly arise then! if hardly you may get away! This arrow full of rankling poison, fearfully insidious where it strikes a foe! See now! with all my force, I point it! and are you resting in the face of such calamity? How is it that you fear not this dread arrow? say! why do you not tremble?" Mara uttered such fear-inspiring threats, bent on overawing Bodhisattva. But Bodhisattva's heart remained unmoved; no doubt, no fear was present. Then Mara instantly discharged his arrow, whilst the three women came in front. Bodhisattva regarded not the arrow, nor considered aught the women three. Mara raga now was troubled much with doubt, and muttered thus 'twixt heart and mouth: "Long since the maiden of the snowy mountains, shooting at Mahesvara, constrained him to change his

mind; and yet Bodhisattva is unmoved, and heeds not even this dart of mine, nor the three heavenly women! naught prevails to move his heart or raise one spark of love within him. Now must I assemble my army-host, and press him sore by force"; having thought thus awhile, Mara's army suddenly assembled round. Each assumed his own peculiar form; some were holding spears, others grasping swords, others snatching up trees, others wielding diamond maces; armed with every sort of weapon. Some had heads like hogs, others like fishes, others like asses, others like horses; some with forms like snakes or like the ox or savage tiger; lion-headed, dragon-headed, and like every other kind of beast. Some had many heads on one body-trunk, with faces having but a single eye, and then again with many eyes; some with great-bellied mighty bodies. And others thin and skinny, bellyless; others long-legged, mighty-kneed; others big-shanked and fat-calved; some with long and claw-like nails. Some were headless, breastless, faceless; some with two feet and many bodies; some with big faces looking every way; some pale and ashy-colored; others colored like the bright star rising, others steaming fiery vapor, some with ears like elephants, with humps like mountains, some with naked forms covered with hair. Some with leather skins for clothing, their faces parti-colored, crimson, and white; some with tiger skins as robes, some with snake skins over them, some with tinkling bells around their waists, others with twisted screw-like hair, others with hair disheveled covering the body, some breath-suckers, others body-snatchers, some dancing and shrieking awhile, some jumping onward with their feet together, some striking one another as they went. Others waving in the air, others flying and leaping between the trees, others howling, or hooting, or screaming, or whining, with their evil noises shaking the great earth; thus this wicked goblin troop encircled on its four sides the Bodhi tree; some bent on tearing his body to pieces, others on devouring it whole; from the four sides flames belched forth, and fiery steam ascended up to heaven; tempestuous winds arose on every side; the mountain forests

shook and quaked. Wind, fire, and steam, with dust combined, produced a pitchy darkness, rendering all invisible.

And now the Devas well affected to the law, and all the Nagas and the spirits, all incensed at this host of Mara, with anger fired, wept tears of blood; the great company of Suddhavasa gods, beholding Mara tempting Bodhisattva, free from low-feeling, with hearts undisturbed by passion, moved by pity toward him and commiseration, came in a body to behold the Bodhisattva, so calmly seated and so undisturbed, surrounded with an uncouthed host of devils, shaking the heaven and earth with sounds ill-omened. Bodhisattva silent and quiet in the midst remained, his countenance as bright as heretofore, unchanged; like the great lion-king placed among all the beasts howling and growling round him so he sat, a sight unseen before, so strange and wonderful! The host of Mara hastening, as arranged, each one exerting his utmost force, taking each other's place in turns, threatening every moment to destroy him. Fiercely staring, grinning with their teeth, flying tumultuously, bounding here and there; but Bodhisattva, silently beholding them, watched them as one would watch the games of children. And now the demon host waxed fiercer and more angry, and added force to force, in further conflict, grasping at stones they could not lift, or lifting them, they could not let them go. Their flying spears, lances, and javelins, stuck fast in space, refusing to descend; the angry thunderdrops and mighty hail, with these, were changed into five-colored lotus-flowers, whilst the foul poison of the dragon snakes was turned to spicy-breathing air. Thus all these countless sorts of creatures, wishing to destroy the Bodhisattva, unable to remove him from the spot, were with their own weapons wounded. Now Mara had an aunt-attendant whose name was Ma-ki-ka-li, who held a skull-dish in her hands, and stood in front of Bodhisattva, and with every kind of winsome gesture tempted to lust the Bodhisattva. So all these followers of Mara, possessed of every demon-body form, united in discordant uproar, hoping to terrify Bodhisattva; but not a hair of his was moved, and Mara's host was filled

with sorrow. Then in the air the crowd of angels, their forms invisible, raised their voices, saying: "Behold the great Muni; his mind unmoved by any feeling of resentment, whilst all that wicked Mara race, besotted, are vainly bent on his destruction; let go your foul and murderous thoughts against that silent Muni, calmly seated! You can not with a breath move the Sumeru mountain. Fire may freeze, water may burn, the roughened earth may grow soft and pliant, but ye can not hurt the Bodhisattva! through ages past disciplined by suffering; Bodhisattva rightly trained in thought, ever advancing in the use of 'means,' pure and illustrious for wisdom, loving and merciful to all. These four conspicuous virtues can not with him be rent asunder, so as to make it hard or doubtful whether he gain the highest wisdom. For as the thousand rays of yonder sun must drown the darkness of the world, or as the boring wood must kindle fire, or as the earth deep-dug gives water, so he who perseveres in the 'right means,' by seeking thus, will find. The world without instruction, poisoned by lust and hate and ignorance; because he pitied 'flesh,' so circumstanced, he sought on their account the joy of wisdom. Why then would you molest and hinder one who seeks to banish sorrow from the world? The ignorance that everywhere prevails is due to false, pernicious books, and therefore Bodhisattva, walking uprightly, would lead and draw men after him. To obscure and blind the great world-leader, this undertaking is impossible, for 'tis as though in the Great Desert a man would purposely mislead the merchant-guide. So 'all flesh' having fallen into darkness, ignorant of where they are going, for their sakes he would light the lamp of wisdom; say then! why would you extinguish it? All flesh engulfed and overwhelmed in the great sea of birth and death, this one prepares the boat of wisdom; say then! why destroy and sink it? Patience is the sprouting of religion, firmness its root, conduct is the flower, the enlightened heart the boughs and branches. Wisdom supreme the entire tree, the 'transcendent law' the fruit, its shade protects all living things; say then! why would you cut it down? Lust, hate, and ig-

norance are the rack and bolt, the yoke placed on the shoulder of the world; through ages long he has practised austerities to rescue men from these their fetters. He now shall certainly attain his end, sitting on this right-established throne; as all the previous Buddhas, firm and compact like a diamond. Though all the earth were moved and shaken, yet would this place be fixed and stable; him, thus fixed and well assured, think not that you can overturn. Bring down and moderate your mind's desire, banish these high and envious thoughts, prepare yourselves for right reflection, be patient in your services."

Mara hearing these sounds in space, and seeing Bodhisattva still unmoved, filled with fear and banishing his high and supercilious thoughts, again took up his way to heaven above. Whilst all his host were scattered, o'erwhelmed with grief and disappointment, fallen from their high estate, bereft of their warrior pride, their warlike weapons and accouterments thrown needlessly and cast away 'mid woods and deserts. Like as when some cruel chieftain slain, the hateful band is all dispersed and scattered, so the host of Mara, disconcerted, fled away. The mind of Bodhisattva now reposed peaceful and quiet. The morning sunbeams brighten with the dawn, the dust-like mist dispersing, disappears; the moon and stars pale their faint light, the barriers of the night are all removed, whilst from above a fall of heavenly flowers pay their sweet tribute to the Bodhisattva.

O-WEI-SAN-POU-TI (ABHISAMBODHI)

Bodhisattva having subdued Mara, his firmly fixed mind at rest, thoroughly exhausting the first principle of truth, he entered into deep and subtle contemplation. Every kind of Samadhi in order passed before his eyes. During the first watch he entered on "right perception," and in recollection all former births passed before his eyes. Born in such a place, of such a name, and downward to his present birth, so through hundreds, thousands, myriads, all his births and deaths he knew. Countless in number were they, of

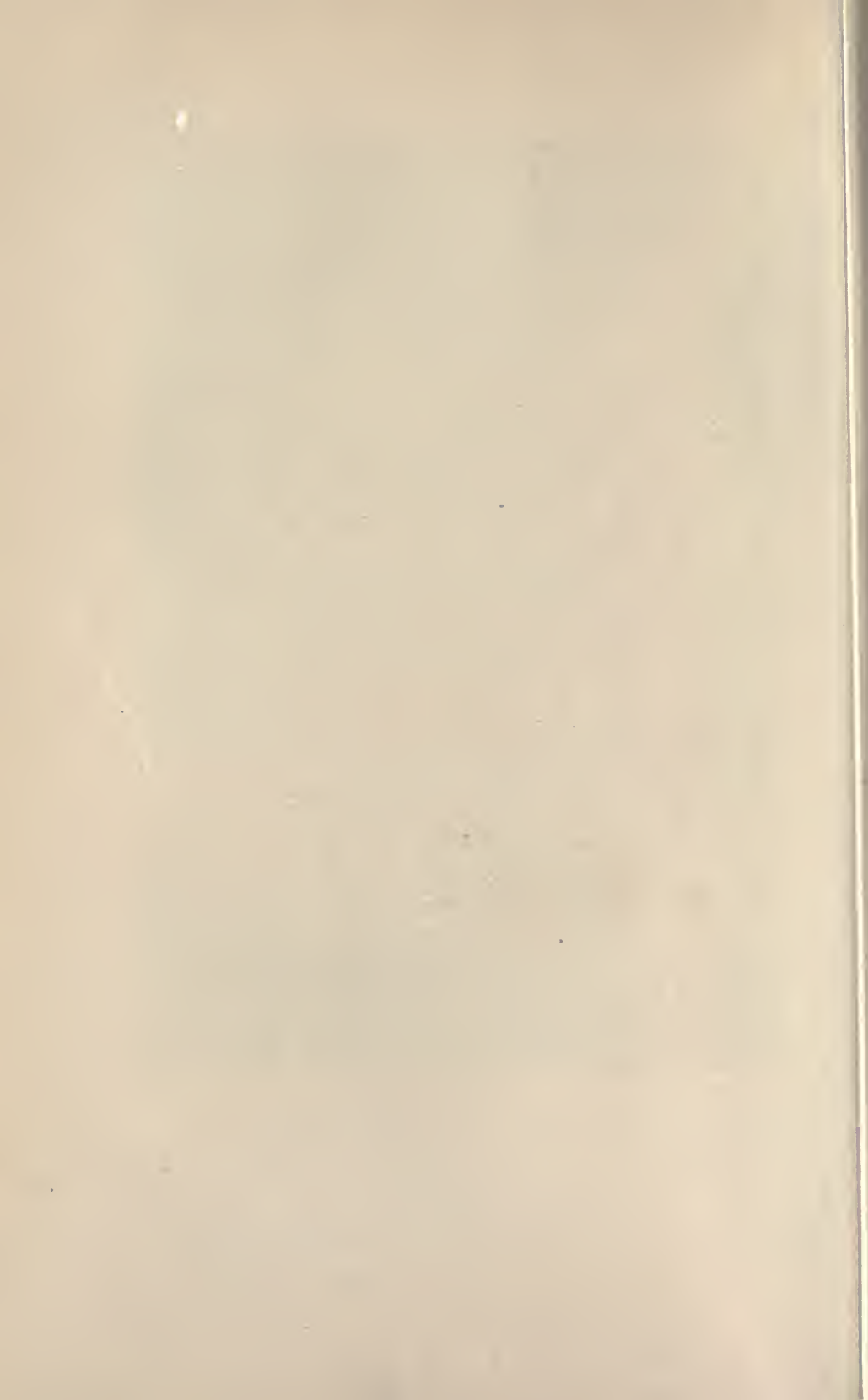
every kind and sort; then knowing, too, his family relationships, great pity rose within his heart.

This sense of deep compassion passed, he once again considered "all that lives," and how they moved within the six portions of life's revolution, no final term to birth and death; hollow all, and false and transient as the plantain-tree, or as a dream, or fantasy. Then in the middle watch of night, he reached to knowledge of the pure Devas, and beheld before him every creature, as one sees images upon a mirror; all creatures born and born again to die, noble and mean, the poor and rich, reaping the fruit of right or evil doing, and sharing happiness or misery in consequence.

First he considered and distinguished evil-doers' works, that such must ever reap an evil birth. Then he considered those who practise righteous deeds, that these must gain a place with men or gods; but those again born in the nether hells, he saw participating in every kind of misery; swallowing molten brass, the iron skewers piercing their bodies, confined within the boiling caldron, driven and made to enter the fiery oven dwelling, food for hungry, long-toothed dogs, or preyed upon by brain-devouring birds; dismayed by fire, then they wander through thick woods, with leaves like razors gashing their limbs, while knives divide their writhing bodies, or hatchets lop their members, bit by bit; drinking the bitterest poisons, their fate yet holds them back from death. Thus those who found their joy in evil deeds, he saw receiving now their direst sorrow; a momentary taste of pleasure here, a dreary length of suffering there. A laugh or joke because of others' pain, a crying out and weeping now at punishment received. Surely if living creatures saw the consequence of all their evil deeds, self-visited, with hatred would they turn and leave them, fearing the ruin following — the blood and death.

He saw, moreover, all the fruits of birth as beasts, each deed entailing its own return; and when death ensues born in some other form (beast shape), different in kind according to the deeds. Some doomed to die for the sake of skin or flesh, some for their horns or hair or bones or wings; others





torn or killed in mutual conflict, friend or relative before, contending thus; some burdened with loads or dragging heavy weights, others pierced and urged on by pricking goads. Blood flowing down their tortured forms, parched and hungry — no relief afforded; then, turning round, he saw one with the other struggling, possessed of no independent strength. Flying through air or sunk in deep water, yet no place as a refuge left from death. He saw, moreover, those, misers and covetous, born now as hungry ghosts; vast bodies like the towering mountain, with mouths as small as any needle-tube, hungry and thirsty, naught but fire and poisoned flame to enwrap their burning forms within. Covetous, they would not give to those who sought, or duped the man who gave in charity, now born among the famished ghosts, they seek for food, but can not find withal. The refuse of the unclean man they fain would eat, but this is changed and lost before it can be eaten. Oh! if a man believes that covetousness is thus repaid, as in their case, would he not give his very flesh in charity even as Sivi raga did!

Then, once more he saw those reborn as men, with bodies like some foul sewer, ever moving 'midst the direst sufferings, born from the womb to fear and trembling, with body tender, touching anything its feelings painful, as if cut with knives. Whilst born in this condition, no moment free from chance of death, labor, and sorrow, yet seeking birth again, and being born again, enduring pain.

Then he saw those who by a higher merit were enjoying heaven; a thirst for love ever consuming them, their merit ended with the end of life, the five signs warning them of death. Just as the blossom that decays, withering away, is robbed of all its shining tints; not all their associates, living still, though grieving, can avail to save the rest. The palaces and joyous precincts empty now, the Devis all alone and desolate, sitting or asleep upon the dusty earth, weep bitterly in recollection of their loves. Those who are born, sad in decay; those who are dead, beloved, cause of grief; thus ever struggling on, preparing future pain, covetous they seek the joys of heaven, obtaining which, these sorrows come apace;

despicable joys! oh, who would covet them! using such mighty efforts to obtain, and yet unable thence to banish pain. Alas, alas! these Devas, too, alike deceived — no difference is there! through lapse of ages bearing suffering, striving to crush desire and lust, now certainly expecting long reprieve, and yet once more destined to fall! in hell enduring every kind of pain, as beasts tearing and killing one the other, as Pretas parched with direst thirst, as men worn out, seeking enjoyment; although, they say, when born in heaven, “then we shall escape these greater ills.” Deceived, alas! no single place exempt, in every birth incessant pain! Alas! the sea of birth and death revolving thus — an ever-whirling wheel — all flesh immersed within its waves cast here and there without reliance! thus with his pure Deva eyes he thoughtfully considered the five domains of life. He saw that all was empty and vain alike! with no dependence! like the plantain or the bubble.

Then, on the third eventful watch, he entered on the deep, true apprehension; he meditated on the entire world of creatures, whirling in life's tangle, born to sorrow; the crowds who live, grow old, and die, innumerable for multitude. Covetous, lustful, ignorant, darkly fettered, with no way known for final rescue. Rightly considering, inwardly he reflected from what source birth and death proceed. He was assured that age and death must come from birth as from a source. For since a man has born with him a body, that body must inherit pain. Then looking further whence comes birth, he saw it came from life-deeds done elsewhere; then with his Deva-eyes scanning these deeds, he saw they were not framed by Isvara. They were not self-caused, they were not personal existences, nor were they either uncaused; then, as one who breaks the first bamboo-joint finds all the rest easy to separate, having discerned the cause of birth and death, he gradually came to see the truth; deeds come from *upadana*, like as fire which catches hold of grass; *upadana* comes from *trishna*, just as a little fire inflames the mountains; *trishna* comes from *vedana*, the perception of pain and pleasure, the desire for rest; as the starving or the thirsty

man seeks food and drink, so "sensation" brings "desire" for life; then contact is the cause of all sensation, producing the three kinds of pain or pleasure, even as by art of man the rubbing wood produces fire for any use or purpose; contact is born from the six entrances.⁸ The six entrances are caused by name and thing, just as the germ grows to the stem and leaf; name and thing are born from knowledge, as the seed which germinates and brings forth leaves. Knowledge, in turn, proceeds from name and thing, the two are interinvolved, leaving no remnant; by some concurrent cause knowledge engenders name and thing, whilst by some other cause concurrent, name and thing engender knowledge. Just as a man and ship advance together, the water and the land mutually involved; thus knowledge brings forth name and thing; name and thing produce the roots. The roots engender contact; contact again brings forth sensation; sensation brings forth longing desire; longing desire produces *upadana*. *Upadana* is the cause of deeds; and these again engender birth; birth again produces age and death; so does this one incessant round cause the existence of all living things.

Rightly illumined, thoroughly perceiving this, firmly established, thus was he enlightened; destroy birth, old age and death will cease; destroy *bhava*, then will birth cease; destroy "cleaving," then will *bhava* end; destroy desire, then will cleaving end; destroy sensation, then will *trishna* end. Destroy contact, then will end sensation; destroy the six entrances, then will contact cease; the six entrances all destroyed, from this, moreover, names and things will cease. Knowledge destroyed, names and things will cease; names and things destroyed, then knowledge perishes; ignorance destroyed, then the constituents of individual life will die; the great Rishi was thus perfected in wisdom. Thus perfected, Buddha then devised for the world's benefit the eight-fold path, right sight, and so on, the only true path for the world to tread. Thus did he complete the end of "self," as fire goes out for want of grass; thus he had done what he

⁸ The six organs of sense.

would have men do; he first had found the way of perfect knowledge. He finished thus the first great lesson; entering the great Rishi's house (dreamless sleep), the darkness disappeared; light coming on, perfectly silent, all at rest, he reached at last the exhaustless source of truth; lustrous with all wisdom the great Rishi sat, perfect in gifts, whilst one convulsive throe shook the wide earth.

And now the world was calm again and bright, when Devas, Nagas, spirits, all assembled, amidst the void raise heavenly music, and make their offerings as the law directs. A gentle cooling breeze sprang up around, and from the sky a fragrant rain distilled; exquisite flowers, not seasonable, bloomed; sweet fruits before their time were ripened. Great Mandaras, and every sort of heavenly precious flower, from space in rich confusion fell, as tribute to the illustrious monk. Creatures of every different kind were moved one toward the other lovingly; fear and terror altogether put away, none entertained a hateful thought, and all things living in the world with faultless men consorted freely; the Devas giving up their heavenly joys, sought rather to alleviate the sinner's sufferings. Pain and distress grew less and less, the moon of wisdom waxed apace; whilst all the Rishis of the Ikshvaku clan who had received a heavenly birth, beholding Buddha thus benefiting men, were filled with joy and satisfaction; and whilst throughout the heavenly mansions religious offerings fell as raining flowers, the Devas and the Naga spirits, with one voice, praised the Buddha's virtues; men seeing the religious offerings, hearing, too, the joyous hymn of praise, were all rejoiced in turn; they leapt for unrestrained joy; Mara, the Devaraga, only, felt in his heart great anguish.

Buddha for those seven days, in contemplation lost, his heart at peace, beheld and pondered on the Bodhi tree, with gaze unmoved and never wearying: "Now resting here, in this condition, I have obtained," he said, "my ever-shifting heart's desire, and now at rest I stand, escaped from self." The eyes of Buddha then considered "all that lives," and forthwith rose there in him deep compassion; much he de-

sired to bring about their welfare, but how to gain for them that most excellent deliverance, from covetous desire, hatred, ignorance, and false teaching, this was the question; how to suppress this sinful heart by right direction; not by anxious use of outward means, but by resting quietly in thoughtful silence. Now looking back and thinking of his mighty vow, there rose once more within his mind a wish to preach the law; and looking carefully throughout the world, he saw how pain and sorrow ripened and increased everywhere.

Then Bráhmâ-deva knowing his thoughts, and considering it right to request him to advance religion for the wider spread of the Bráhmâ-glory, in the deliverance of all flesh from sorrow, coming, beheld upon the person of the reverend monk all the distinguishing marks of a great preacher, visible in an excellent degree; fixed and unmoved he sat in the possession of truth and wisdom, free from all evil impediments, with a heart cleansed from all insincerity or falsehood. Then with reverent and a joyful heart, great Bráhmâ stood and, with hands joined, thus made known his request: "What happiness in all the world so great as when a loving master meets the unwise; the world with all its occupants, filled with impurity and dire confusion, with heavy grief oppressed, or, in some cases, lighter sorrows, waits deliverance; the lord of men, having escaped by crossing the wide and mournful sea of birth and death, we now entreat to rescue others—those struggling creatures all engulfed therein; as the just worldly man, when he gets profit, gives some rebate withal. So the lord of men enjoying such religious gain, should also give somewhat to living things. The world indeed is bent on large personal gain, and hard it is to share one's own with others. Oh! let your loving heart be moved with pity toward the world burdened with vexing cares." Thus having spoken by way of exhortation, with reverent mien he turned back to the Bráhmâ heaven.

Buddha, regarding the invitation of Bráhmâ-deva, rejoiced at heart, and his design was strengthened; greatly was his heart of pity nourished, and purposed was his mind to preach. Thinking he ought to beg some food, each of the

four kings offered him a Patra; Tathagata, in fealty to religion, received the four and joined them all in one. And now some merchant men were passing by, to whom "a virtuous friend," a heavenly spirit, said: "The great Rishi, the venerable monk, is dwelling in this mountain-grove, affording in the world a noble field for merit; go then and offer him a sacrifice!" Hearing the summons, joyfully they went, and offered the first meal religiously. Having partaken of it, then he deeply pondered, who first should hear the law; he thought at once of Arada Kalama and Udraka Ramaputra, as being fit to accept the righteous law; but now they both were dead. Then next he thought of the five men, that they were fit to hear the first sermon. Bent then on this design to preach Nirvana, as the sun's glory bursts through the darkness, so went he on toward Benares, the place where dwelt the ancient Rishis. With eyes as gentle as the ox king's, his pace as firm and even as the lion's, because he would convert the world he went on toward the Kasi city. Step by step, like the king of beasts, did he advance watchfully through the grove of wisdom.

TURNING THE LAW-WHEEL

Tathagata piously composed and silent, radiant with glory, shedding light around, with unmatched dignity advanced alone, as if surrounded by a crowd of followers. Beside the way he encountered a young brahmin whose name was Upaka; struck with the deportment of the bhikku, he stood with reverent mien on the roadside. Joyously he gazed at such an unprecedented sight, and then, with closed hands, he spake as follows: "The crowds who live around are stained with sin, without a pleasing feature, void of grace, and the great world's heart is everywhere disturbed; but you alone, your senses all composed, with visage shining as the moon when full, seem to have quaffed the water of the immortals' stream. The marks of beauty yours, as the great man's, the strength of wisdom, as an all-sufficient, independent king's; what you have done must have been wisely done: what then your noble tribe and who your master?" An-

swering he said, "I have no master; no honorable tribe; no point of excellence; self-taught in this profoundest doctrine, I have arrived at superhuman wisdom. That which behooves the world to learn, but through the world no learner found, I now myself and by myself have learned throughout; 'tis rightly called Sambodhi. That hateful family of griefs the sword of wisdom has destroyed; this then is what the world has named, and rightly named, the 'chiefest victory.' Through all Benares soon will sound the drum of life, no stay is possible — I have no name — nor do I seek profit or pleasure. But simply to declare the truth; to save men from pain, and fulfil my ancient oath, to rescue all not yet delivered. The fruit of this my oath is ripened now, and I will follow out my ancient vow. Wealth, riches, self all given up, unnamed, I still am named 'Righteous Master.' And bringing profit to the world, I also have the name 'Great Teacher'; facing sorrows, not swallowed up by them, am I not rightly called 'Courageous Warrior'? If not a healer of diseases, what means the name of 'Good Physician'? Seeing the wanderer, not showing him the way, why then should I be called 'Good Master-guide'? Like as the lamp shines in the dark, without a purpose of its own, self-radiant, so burns the lamp of the Tathagata, without the shadow of a personal feeling. Bore wood in wood, there must be fire; the wind blows of its own free self in space; dig deep and you will come to water; this is the rule of self-causation. All the Munis who perfect wisdom must do so at Gaya; and in the Kasi country they must first turn the Wheel of Righteousness."

The young brahmin Upaka, astonished, breathed the praise of such strange doctrine, and called to mind like thoughts he had before experienced; lost in thought at the wonderful occurrence, at every turning of the road he stopped to think; embarrassed in every step he took, Tathagata proceeding slowly onward, came to the city of Kasi.

The land so excellently adorned as the palace of Sakradevendra; the Ganges and Barana, two twin rivers flowed amidst; the woods and flowers and fruits so verdant, the

peaceful cattle wandering together, the calm retreats free from vulgar noise, such was the place where the old Rishis dwelt. Tathagata, glorious and radiant, redoubled the brightness of the place; the son of the Kaundinya tribe, and next Dasabalakasyapa, and the third Vashpa, the fourth Asvagit, the fifth called Bhadra, practising austerities as hermits, seeing from far Tathagata approaching, sitting together all engaged in conversation, said: "This Gotama, defiled by worldly indulgence, leaving the practise of austerities, now comes again to find us here, let us be careful not to rise in salutation, nor let us greet him when he comes, nor offer him the customary refreshments. Because he has broken his first vow, he has no claim to hospitality" — for men on seeing an approaching guest by rights prepare things for his present and his after wants. They arrange a proper resting-couch, and take on themselves care for his comfort. Having spoken thus and so agreed, each kept his seat, resolved and fixed. And now Tathagata slowly approached, when, lo! these men unconsciously, against their vow, rose and invited him to take a seat; offering to take his robe and Patra. They begged to wash and rub his feet, and asked him what he required more; thus in everything attentive, they honored him and offered all to him as teacher. They did not cease, however, to address him still as Gotama, after his family. Then spake the Lord to them and said: "Call me not after my private name, for it is a rude and careless way of speaking to one who has obtained Arahatsip; but whether men respect or disrespect me, my mind is undisturbed and wholly quiet. But you — your way is not so courteous: let go, I pray, and cast away your fault. Buddha can save the world; they call him, therefore, Buddha. Toward all living things, with equal heart he looks as children, to call him then by his familiar name is to despise a father; this is sin."

Thus Buddha, by exercise of mighty love, in deep compassion spoke to them; but they, from ignorance and pride, despised the only wise and true one's words. They said that first he practised self-denial, but having reached thereby no

profit, now giving rein to body, word, and thought, how by these means, they asked, has he become a Buddha? Thus equally entangled by doubts, they would not credit that he had attained the way.

Thoroughly versed in the highest truth, full of all-embracing wisdom, Tathagata on their account briefly declared to them the one true way; the foolish masters practising austerities, and those who love to gratify their senses, he pointed out to them these two distinctive classes, and how both greatly erred. "Neither of these," he said, "has found the way of highest wisdom, nor are their ways of life productive of true rescue. The emaciated devotee by suffering produces in himself confused and sickly thoughts, not conducive even to worldly knowledge, how much less to triumph over sense! For he who tries to light a lamp with water will not succeed in scattering the darkness, and so the man who tries with worn-out body to trim the lamp of wisdom shall not succeed, nor yet destroy his ignorance or folly. Who seeks with rotten wood to evoke the fire will waste his labor and get nothing for it; but boring hard wood into hard, the man of skill forthwith gets fire for his use. In seeking wisdom, then, it is not by these austerities a man may reach the law of life. But to indulge in pleasure is opposed to right: this is the fool's barrier against wisdom's light. The sensualist can not comprehend the Sutras or the Shastras; how much less the way of overcoming all desire! As some man grievously afflicted eats food not fit to eat, and so in ignorance aggravates his sickness, so can he get rid of lust who pampers lust? Scatter the fire amid the desert grass, dried by the sun, fanned by the wind — the raging flames who shall extinguish? Such is the fire of covetousness and lust; I, then, reject both these extremes: my heart keeps in the middle way. All sorrow at an end and finished, I rest at peace, all error put away; my true sight greater than the glory of the sun, my equal and unvarying wisdom, vehicle of insight — right words as it were a dwelling-place — wandering through the pleasant groves of right conduct, making a right life my recreation, walking along the right road of proper means,

my city of refuge in right recollection, and my sleeping-couch right meditation; these are the eight even and level roads by which to avoid the sorrows of birth and death. Those who come forth by these means from the slough, doing thus, have attained the end; such shall fall neither on this side or the other, amidst the sorrow-crowd of the two periods. The tangled sorrow-web of the three worlds by this road alone can be destroyed; this is my own way, unheard of before; by the pure eyes of the true law, impartially seeing the way of escape, I, only I, now first make known this way; thus I destroy the hateful company of Trishna's host, the sorrows of birth and death, old age, disease, and all the unfruitful aims of men, and other springs of suffering.

"There are those who, warring against desire, are still influenced by desire; who whilst possessed of body, act as though they had none; who put away from themselves all sources of true merit — briefly will I recount their sorrowful lot. Like smothering a raging fire, though carefully put out, yet a spark left, so in their abstraction, still the germ of 'I,' the source of great sorrow still surviving, perpetuates the suffering caused by lust, and the evil consequences of every kind of deed survive. These are the sources of further pain, but let these go and sorrow dies, even as the seed of corn taken from the earth and deprived of water dies; the concurrent causes not uniting, then the bud and leaf can not be born; the intricate bonds of every kind of existence, from the Deva down to the evil ways of birth, ever revolve and never cease; all this is produced from covetous desire; falling from a high estate to lower ones, all is the fault of previous deeds. But destroy the seed of covetousness and the rest, then there will be no intricate binding, but all effect of deeds destroyed, the various degrees of sorrow then will end for good. Having this, then, we must inherit that; destroying this, then that is ended too; no birth, old age, disease, or death; no earth, or water, fire, or wind. No beginning, end, or middle; and no deceptive systems of philosophy; this is the standpoint of wise men and sages; the certain and exhausted termination, complete Nirvana.

“Such do the eight right ways declare; this one expedient has no remains; that which the world sees not, engrossed by error I declare, I know the way to sever all these sorrow-sources; the way to end them is by right reason, meditating on these four highest truths, following and perfecting this highest wisdom. This is what means the ‘knowing’ sorrow; this is to cut off the cause of all remains of being; these destroyed, then all striving, too, has ended, the eight right ways have been essayed. Thus, too, the four great truths have been acquired, the eyes of the pure law completed. In these four truths, the equal, true or right, eyes not yet born, there is not mention made of gaining true deliverance; it is not said what must be done is done, nor that all is finished, nor that the perfect truth has been acquired. But now because the truth is known, then by myself is known ‘deliverance gained,’ by myself is known that ‘all is done,’ by myself is known ‘the highest wisdom.’”

And having spoken thus respecting truth, the member of the Kaundinya family, and eighty thousand of the Deva host, were thoroughly imbued with saving knowledge. They put away defilement from themselves, they got the eyes of the pure law; Devas and earthly masters thus were sure, that what was to be done was done. And now with lion-voice he joyfully inquired, and asked Kaundinya, “Knowest thou yet?” Kaundinya forthwith answered Buddha, “I know the mighty master’s law.” And for this reason, knowing it, his name was Agnata Kaundinya. Amongst all the disciples of Buddha, he was the very first in understanding. Then as he understood the sounds of the true law, hearing the words of the disciple—all the earth-spirits together raised a shout triumphant, “Well done! deeply seeing the principles of the law, Tathagata, on this auspicious day, has set revolving that which never yet revolved, and far and wide, for gods and men, has opened the gates of immortality. Of this wheel the spokes are the rules of pure conduct; equal contemplation, their uniformity of length; firm wisdom is the tire; modesty and thoughtfulness, the rubbers (sockets in the nave in which the axle is fixed); right reflection is

the name; the wheel itself the law of perfect truth; the right truth now has gone forth in the world, not to retire before another teacher."

Thus the earth-spirits shouted, the spirits of the air took up the strain, the Devas all joined in the hymn of praise, up to the highest Bráhmâ heaven. The Devas of the triple world, now hearing what the great Rishi taught, in intercourse together spoke, "The widely honored Buddha moves the world! Wide-spread, for the sake of all that lives, he turns the wheel of the law of complete purity!" The stormy winds, the clouds, the mists, all disappeared; down from space the heavenly flowers descended. The Devas reveled in their joys celestial, filled with unutterable gladness.

[The following chapters tell of Buddha's teaching and then of his death, considerably resembling the Book of the Great Decease.]

THE BURMESE LIFE OF BUDDHA

I adore ¹ Buddha who has gloriously emerged from the bottomless whirlpool of endless existences; who has extinguished the burning fire of anger and other passions; opened and illuminated the fathomless abyss of dark ignorance, and who is the greatest and most excellent of all beings.

¹ All Buddhistic compositions are invariably prefaced with one of the following formulas of worship, always used by writers on religious subjects. The one relates to Buddha alone, and the other to the three most excellent things, ever deserving the highest veneration. The first, always written in Pali, beginning with the words "*Namau tassa*," may be translated as follows: "I adore thee (or rather, Adoration to) the blessed, perfect, and most intelligent." Here are proposed to the faith, admiration, and veneration of a true Buddhist the three great characteristics of the founder of his religion, his goodness and benevolence, his supreme perfection, and his boundless knowledge. They form the essential qualifications of a being who has assumed upon himself the task of bringing men out of the abyss of darkness and ignorance, and leading them to deliverance. Benevolence prompts him to undertake that great work; perfection fits him for such a high calling; and supreme science enables him to follow it up with a complete success. They are always held out to Buddhists as the three bright attributes and transcendent qualities inherent to that exalted personage, which are ever to attract and center upon him the respect, love, and admiration of all his sincere followers.

The second formula may be considered as a short act of faith often repeated by Buddhists. It consists in saying: "I take refuge in Buddha, the Law and the Assembly." This short profession of faith is often much enlarged by the religious zeal of writers and the fervent piety of devotees. From the instance of this legend, we may remark how the compiler with a soul warmed by fervor, is passing high encomiums upon each of the three sacred objects of veneration, or the sacred asylums wherein a Buddhist delights to dwell. There is no doubt but this formula is a very ancient one, probably coeval with the first age of Buddhism. The text of this legend bears out the correctness of this assertion. It appears that the repetition of this short sentence was the mark that distinguished converts. Ordinary hearers of the preachings of Buddha and his disciples evinced their adhesion to all that was delivered to them by repeating the sacred formula. It was then, and even now it is to Buddhists, what the celebrated Mohammedan declaration of faith—"There is but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet"—is to the followers of the Arabian prophet. It is extremely

I adore the law which the most excellent Buddha has published, which is infinitely high and incomparably profound, exceedingly acceptable, and most earnestly wished for by Nats and men, capable to wipe off the stains of concupiscence and is immutable.

I adore the assembly of the perfect, of the pure and illustrious Arihas² in their eight sublime states, who have overcome all the passions that torment other mortals, by eradicating the very root of concupiscence, and who are famous above all other beings.

I undertake to translate from the Pali³ text the history

important to have an accurate idea of the three sacred abodes in which the believer expects to find a sure shelter against all errors, doubts, and fears, and a resting-place where his soul may securely enjoy the undisturbed possession of truth. They constitute what is emphatically called the three precious things.

² According to the opinion of Buddhists in these parts, the laity is not considered as forming or constituting a part of the Thanga; those only who abandon a secular life, put on the yellow canonical dress, and endeavor to tread in the footsteps of their great teacher, are alone entitled to the dignity of members of the Assembly, to which a veneration is paid similar to that offered to Buddha and the law. The Arihas, or venerables, are divided into four classes, according to their greater or lesser proficiency in knowledge and moral worth. They are called Thotapan, Thakadagan, Anagam, and Arahat. In the class of Thotapan are included the individuals who have entered into the current or stream leading to deliverance, or in other terms, who have stepped into the way of perfection. The Thotapan is as yet to be born four times ere he can obtain the deliverance. Those who belong to the second class glide rapidly down the stream, following steadily the way leading to perfection, and are to be born once more in the condition of Nat, and once in that of man. Those of the third class are to be born once in the condition of Nats. Finally, those of the fourth class have gone over the fourth and last way to perfection, reached the summit of science and spiritual attainments, and are ripe for the state of Nirvana they infallibly obtain after their death. The Arihas are again subdivided into eight classes, four of which include those who are following the four ways of perfection; the four others comprehend those who enjoy the reward of the duties practised in following the ways of perfection.

³ The Burmese translator of the Pali texts gives us to understand that his intention is not to give the history of our Buddha during the countless existences that have preceded the last one, when he obtained the supreme intelligence. Buddhists keep five hundred and ten histories or legends of Buddha, purporting to give an account of as many of his former existences; and to enhance the value of such records the con-

of our most excellent Phra,⁴ from the period he left Toocita, the fourth abode of Nats,⁵ to the time he entered into the state of Nirvana.⁶

Previous, however, to commencing the work, I will relate succinctly what is found in our books respecting the great Being who, by a slow but sure process, was qualifying himself for his great and high destiny. It is stated that all the following particulars were narrated by Gotama himself, to the great disciple Thariputra.

During seven Thingies of worlds, he who was to become a Buddha felt within himself, during that immense number of revolutions of nature, a thought for the Buddhaship, awakening in his soul. This thought was succeeded by a wish, a desire, and a longing for that extraordinary calling. He began to understand that the practise of virtues of the

tents are supposed to have been narrated by Buddha himself to his disciples and hearers.

⁴ Phra is a name for Buddha, meaning, "the mighty lord." It is also applied to kings and other officials.

⁵ Nats are the spirits or *devatas* or minor gods.

⁶ Toocita, or the joyful abode, is one of the seats of the Nats. But in order to render more intelligible several passages of this work, it is almost indispensable to have an idea of the system adopted by Buddhists in assigning to rational beings their respective seats or abodes. There are 31 seats assigned to all beings which we may suppose to be disposed on an immense scale, extending from the bottom of the earth to an incommensurable height above it. At the foot we find the four states of punishment, *viz.*, hell, the states of Athourikes, Preithas, and animals. Next comes the abode of man. Above it are the six seats of Nats. These eleven seats are called the seats of passion, of concupiscence, because the beings residing therein are still subject to the influence of that passion, though not to an equal degree. Above the abodes of Nats we meet with the sixteen seats, called Rupa, disposed perpendicularly one above the other, to an incalculable height. The inhabitants of those fanciful regions are called Brâhmās or perfect. They have freed themselves from concupiscence and almost all other passions, but still retain some affection for matter and material things. Hence the denomination of Rupa, or matter, given to the seats. The remaining portion of the scale is occupied by the four seats called Arupa, or immaterials, for the beings inhabiting them are entirely delivered from all passions. They have, as it were, broken asunder even the smallest ties that would attach them to this material world. They have reached the summit of perfection; one step farther, and they enter into the state Nirvana, the consummation, according to Buddhists, of all perfection.

highest order was requisite to enable him to obtain the glorious object of his ardent wishes, and no fewer than 125,000 Buddhas appeared during that space of time.

When the above period had at last come to an end the inward workings of his soul prompted him to ask openly for the Buddhaship. The period of asking lasted nine Thingies of worlds. It was brightened and illustrated by the successive manifestations of 987,000 Buddhas. In the beginning of this latter period, the future Gotama was a prince by the name of Laukatara, ruler of the Nanda country. At that time there appeared in the country of Kapilawot a Buddha, called Thakiamuni Paurana Gotama. Whilst he happened to travel through the Nanda country, with the twofold object of preaching the law and begging for his food, the ruler Laukatara made great offerings to him. Meanwhile, with a marked earnestness he solicited at the feet of Thakiamuni the favor of becoming, at some future time, a Buddha like himself. He expressed the wish to be born in the same country, from the same father and mother, to have for his wife the very same queen, to ride the same horse, to be attended by the same companions, and the same two disciples of the right and of the left. To this request Thakiamuni replied in the affirmative, but he added that an immense length of time had as yet to elapse ere the objects of his petition be fully granted. A similar application was repeatedly made to all other succeeding Buddhas, and a like promise was held out to him.

The third period of four Thingies of worlds was remarkable for the complete absence of all that could enlighten or illustrate the various states of existence. A complete moral and intellectual darkness was spread over all beings and kept them wrapped up in utter darkness. No Buddhas, no Pitzekabuddhas appeared to illuminate by their doctrine and science, the minds of men. No Tsekiawade, or king of the world, made his appearance to infuse life and energy in the midst of the universal slumbering.

But the following hundred thousand revolutions of nature were more fortunate. There flourished no fewer than

twenty-seven Buddhas, from Tahingara, the first in the series, to Kathaba, the last one immediately preceding Gotama.

During the period that the Buddha named Deipinkara was the teacher of all beings, our future Gotama was born in the country of Amarawatti, from illustrious and rich parents belonging to the caste of Pounhas.

When as yet a youth he lost both his parents, and inherited their property.

In the midst of pleasure and plenty he made, one day, this reflection: "The riches that I now possess were my parents' property, but they have not been able to save them from the miseries attending death. They will not, alas! afford to me a better and more secure fate. When I go into the grave they will not accompany me. This bodily frame I am clad in is not worthy to be pitied. Why should I bestow signs of compassion upon it? Filled with impurities, burdened by rottenness, it has all the elements of destruction, in the compounded parts of its existence. Toward Nirvana I will turn my regards; upon it my eyes shall be riveted. There is the stream in which all the impurities of passions may be washed away. Now, I will forsake everything, and go forthwith in search of a teacher that will point out to me the way leading to the state Nirvana."

Full of these thoughts the young man gave away to the needy all that he possessed, reserving nothing for himself. Freed from the trammels of riches, he withdrew into a lonely place, where the Nats had prepared beforehand all that was necessary to minister unto his wants. He embraced the profession or mode of life of a Rahan, or perfect. Attired in the dress of his new profession, he lived for some time on this spot, under the name of Thumeda. Displeased, however, with the too easy mode of life he was leading, he left that spot, satisfied to dwell in the shade of the trees, leaving this shelter only to go in quest of food.

A few years previous to the retirement of the Thumeda into the solitude, he who was to be the Buddha Deipinkara migrated from one of the Nats' seats and incarnated in the

womb of the Princess Thumeda, wife of the Thudewa, king of the Ramawatti country. Subsequently he was married to the Princess Padouma, who bore unto him a son named Uthabakanda. In the same year the child was born the king left his palace on elephant-back, withdrew into some lonely place, practised during ten months all sorts of self-inflicted penances, and, under the shade of the tree Gniaong Kiat, became a Buddha. On that occasion the earth quivered with great violence, but the hermit Thumeda, being in ecstasy at that moment, knew nothing of the extraordinary occurrence.

On a certain day Deipinkara was traveling through the country for the twofold purpose of preaching the law and collecting his food. Arrived near a place where the road was very bad he stopped for a while, until the road be made passable. The people hastened from all parts to come and prepare the road for Deipinkara and his followers. Thumeda, gifted with the privilege of traveling through the air, happened to pass over the spot where crowds of people were busily engaged in preparing and leveling the road. Thereupon the hermit alighted and inquired from the people what was the cause of their busy exertions. They told him that the most excellent Deipinkara was expected with a large retinue of disciples, and that they were straining every nerve to have the road ready for them. Thumeda begged to be permitted to have a share in the good work, and asked that a certain part of the road be assigned to him as his task. His request was granted and he forthwith set to work with the greatest diligence. It was all but finished when Buddha Deipinkara, followed by forty thousand disciples, made his appearance. Thumeda, actuated by an ardent desire to testify his respect to the holy personage, without showing the least hesitation flung himself into the hollow that was not as yet filled, and lying on his belly, his back upward, bridged the place and entreated the Buddha and his followers to cross the hollow by passing over his body. "Great and abundant shall be the merits that I," said he within himself, "shall gain by this good work. No doubt I will receive

from the mouth of Deipinkara the assurance that I shall, hereafter, obtain the Buddhaship. The Buddha, standing over him, admired the humble and fervent devotedness of Thumeda. With one glance he perceived all that was going on in the hermit's mind, and with a loud voice that could be heard by all his disciples he assured him that four Thingies and one hundred thousand worlds hence, he would become a Buddha, the fourth that would appear during the world called Badda. He went on, describing minutely the principal events that were to illustrate his future career. No sooner was this revelation made to him than Thumeda hastened back to his forest. Sitting at the foot of a tree, he exhorted himself by fine comparisons to the practise of those virtues, the best suited to weaken in him the influence of passions.

In the different existences that followed Thumeda at all the periods of the appearance of Buddhas, received a confirmation of the promise he had had from the lips of Deipinkara.

This present world we live in has been favored above all others. Already three Buddhas have appeared, *viz.*: Kaukkasan, Gaunagong, and Kathaba. They invariably belonged to the caste of Pounhas, and he who was to be hereafter our Gotama, during the many existences he passed through, at the time of the manifestations of those three Buddhas, was always born from the same caste. Kathaba is said to have lived and preached during the ninth *andrakap*. It was he who, for the last time, assured the future Gotama that he would obtain the Buddhaship during the tenth *andrakap*.

We will only mention his last existence in the seat of man, previous to the one in which he was to obtain the great prize for which he had labored with so much earnestness during innumerable existences. He became a prince, under the name of Wethandra, and practised to an eminent, nay, heroic degree, the virtues of liberality and charity. To such an extent did he obey the dictates of his liberal heart, that after having given away all the royal treasures, his white elephant,

etc., he did not shrink from parting with his own wife, the Princess Madi, and his two children Dzali and Gahna. He then died and migrated to the Toocita seat, and enjoyed the blissfulness and felicity of Nats, under the name of Saytakaytu, during fifty-seven *koudes* of years.

The origin and beginning of the Kapilawot country, as well as of its rulers, are to be alluded to as briefly as possible. In the country of the middle, Mitzimadesa, the kings that ruled from the time of Mahathamadat to that of Ukakaritz, King of Benares, were 252,556 in number. The last-named monarch was married to five wives and had children by them all. The first queen happening to die, the king became passionately enamored of a young woman, whom he married. She soon presented him with a son, whom the king, pressed by his young wife's solicitations, declared heir-apparent, to the prejudice of his elder sons. As might have been expected, the four elder sons loudly complained of the preference given to their younger brother. To put an end to the domestic disputes the king called his four sons and their five sisters, gave them a large retinue, and bade them depart. They were to go in a northerly direction, there seek a favorable spot, and build a new city. They obeyed their father's command. After wandering through the forests, they came to a place where lived the Rathee Kapila, who, becoming acquainted with the object of their errand, desired them to stay with him and found a city. He also wished that on the very spot where stood his hut the king's palace should be erected. He predicted that this city would become great, powerful, and illustrious; that it would be a city of peace, just as in the forest where the animals lived peaceably, without ever attempting to inflict harm on one another. The proposal was cheerfully accepted. All the people set to work with great earnestness. When the work was completed, they offered the new city to Kapila, who was made their teacher. Hence the name of Kappilawottu, or Kapilawot.

The four princes finding that among their followers there were no daughters of the royal race whom they could marry, resolved, in order to keep pure the royal blood, to marry

their four younger sisters. The eldest one was raised to the dignity of queen-mother. Ukamukka, the eldest prince, was the first king of Kapilawot. Whilst these things were coming to pass, the King of Benares, having been attacked with leprosy, had left his throne, and retired to a forest north of his capital. There he found a cure under the shade of the Kalau tree. At the same time the eldest sister, named Peya, who had become queen-mother, was seized with the same distemper, and went into the same forest. She met the king, whom she knew not. By his advice she sat under the Kalau tree, and the beneficent smell of the leaves soon worked a perfect cure. They were subsequently married and had numerous progeny. They settled on this spot, and built the city of Kaulya. The river Rohani flowed between Kaulya and Kapilawot.⁷

From Ukamukka, the first king of Kapilawot, to Prince Wethandra, there were but seven successive kings. From Dzali, the son of Wethandra, to Dzeyathena, the great-

⁷ When laying before the reader a short and concise account of the being who was to become the Buddha called Gotama, the writer deems it necessary to make a general observation which, he hopes, will greatly help to the proper understanding of several passages in the following pages. Gotama was a Hindu, brought up by Hindu masters, and initiated into all the knowledge possessed by the society he lived in. He accepted the fabulous genealogies of kings such as were found in the writings of his day. At that time there prevailed many erroneous ideas respecting our globe, the size and motions of the sun and the moon and other heavenly bodies, besides many differing explanations of natural phenomena, descriptions of hell, of the seats of reward, etc. Teacher, as he was, of moral precepts based upon metaphysical principles, Gotama concerned himself very little about these things, which in his eyes were not worth the consideration of a sage. But he, or more probably his disciples, availed themselves of these notions by resting upon them some portions of their system, and giving them such developments as best suited their views. These notions, though wedded to the religious system originated by Gotama, do not, strictly speaking, belong to it. They existed before his appearance in the schools of philosophy; they formed a part of the stock of knowledge possessed by the society in which he was reared. To account properly for these particulars and many others belonging to the disciplinary regulations, recourse must be had to the study of the ancient religion of the Hindus, Brahmanism.

In the account of the foundation of the Kapilawot city we find that the practise of leaving the eldest sister unmarried, and the princes

grandfather of Gotama, there were 82,002 kings. Let it be borne in mind that during that period of time our Phra-laong, or future Gotama, was in one of the Nats' seats. The princes of Kapilawot were wont to go and sport on the water of a lake somewhat distant from the city. They at first erected a temporary place of residence, in the vicinity of that sheet of water, and finally built a city, which received the name of Dewaha. It had likewise its kings of the same Thagiwi race. Dzeyathena, the King of Kapilawot; had a son named Thiahanu and a daughter named Yathaudara. His contemporary, King of Dewaha, Aukaka, had also a son and a daughter, Eetzana and Kitzana. Thiahanu was married to Kitzana, who bore unto him five sons, Thudaudana, Kanwardana, Thoukkaudana, Thekkaudana, and Amittaudana; and two daughters, Amita and Pilita. Eetzana, the son of the King of Dewa, married Yathaudara, daughter of Dzeyathena, King of Kapilawot. From this marriage were born two sons, Thupabudha and Dantapani; and two daughters, Maia and Patzapati.

When Eetzana became King of Dewaha it was found that there was an error in the calendar. A correction was deemed necessary. There lived a celebrated hermit, or Rathee, named Deweela, well versed in the science of calculation. After several consultations held on this important subject, in the presence of the king, it was agreed that the Kaudza era of 8,640 years should be made to end on a Saturday, the first of the moon of Tabaong, and that the new era should be made to begin on a Sunday, on the first day of the waxing moon of the month Tagu. This was called the Eetzana era.

During the tenth year of the new era, Thudaudana was born in the city of Kapilawot; and in the twelfth year Maia was born at Dewaha. In the days of the Buddha Wipathi, the future Maia was then the daughter of a Pounha. Her father who tenderly loved her, gave her, one day, a fine nose-

marrying their own sisters, is, up to this day, observed by the royal family of Burma. The eldest daughter of the reigning monarch is to remain unmarried during her parents' life, and the first queen is often, if not always, the sister or half-sister of the king. The same unnatural practise prevailed in the royal family of the ancient Persians.

gay with a great quantity of the choicest perfumes and essences. The young girl, delighted with these articles, hastened to the place where lived Wipathi, and with a pious and fervent earnestness laid at his feet all that she had received from her father. Wipathi, admiring the fervent liberality of the damsel, assured her that she would, hereafter, become the mother of a Buddha, who was to be called Gotama.

When Thudaudana was eighteen years of age, his father, King Thiahanu, called eight Pounhas skilled in the science of astrology, and directed them to go with a large retinue and costly presents in search of a royal princess as a bride for his son. The eight Pounhas departed. They visited several countries, but all in vain; they could not find one princess worthy of their master's son. At last they came to the city of Dewaha. They had no sooner arrived in sight of it than they saw many signs, which prognosticated that in this city would be found an accomplished princess, in every respect qualified to become the wife of the heir to the throne of Kapilawot. At that time the young Maia had repaired to enjoy herself in a garden outside the city. It was situated on a gently sloping ground covered with the finest and rarest trees. A small brook, winding its course in various directions, imparted on every hand, with its gently murmuring waters, a delicious freshness. Thither the royal messengers resorted. They found the princess in the midst of her companions, outshining them all in beauty, like the moon among the stars. Admitted into her presence, the head of the deputation attempted to speak and explain the object of his visit; but he was so overwhelmed by the beauty, the graceful and dignified appearance of the princess, that his voice failed him, and he fainted successively three times. With each fit several damsels ran to his assistance carrying pitchers of fresh water, and revived him. Having recovered his spirits, the chief Pounha felt encouraged by the graceful and kind words from the lips of the princess. He explained to her, in the choicest expressions, the object of his mission; and with a faltering and timid voice stated to her that he

had come to entreat her to accept presents from, and at the hand of, Prince Thudaudana. Meanwhile he poured at her feet the brightest jewels and rarest articles. The princess, with a sweet voice, modestly replied that she was under the protection and care of her beloved parents, whose will she never resisted: that it was to them that this affair was to be referred. As to her own part, she had but one thing to do, to abide by her good parents' wishes.

Satisfied with the answer, the Pounhas retired, and hastened to the palace of King Eetzana, to whom they related all that had happened. The king graciously agreed to the proposal, and, in proof of his perfect satisfaction, sent in return a deputation, with many presents to Prince Thudaudana and to his father. As might be expected, the royal messengers were well received at Kapilawot. Thiahanu and his son set out, with a countless retinue, for the city of Dewaha. In a mango-tree grove out of the city an immense building was erected for their reception and accommodation; and in the middle of that building a spacious hall was arranged with artistic care for the marriage-ceremony. When all the preparations were completed the bridegroom attended by his father, King Thiahanu, and the chief brahmins, went out to meet the bride, coming from the garden, accompanied by her mother and the wife of the great Thagia. Both advanced toward the center of the hall, near a stand raised for the occasion. Thudaudana stretched at first his hand and laid it over that place. Maia gracefully acted in a similar manner. Then each took the other's hand, in token of the mutual consent they gave. At that auspicious moment all the musical instruments resounded, and with gladdening tunes proclaimed the happy event. The Pounhas, holding the sacred shell in their hands, poured the blessed water over their heads, uttering numerous blessings. The parents and relatives joined in uttering over the young couple the choicest benedictions. The King, princes, Pounhas, and nobles vied with each other in making presents and wishing them all sorts of happiness.

When the festival was over, Thiahanu desired to go back

to his country, with his son and daughter-in-law. This was done with the utmost pomp and solemnity. On his return, he continued to govern his people with great prudence and wisdom, and at last died and migrated to one of the Nats' seats. He was succeeded by his son Thudaudana, who, with his amiable wife, religiously observed the five precepts and the ten rules of kings. By his beneficence and liberality to all he won the sincere affection of his people. It was in the twenty-eighth year of the new era that he was married. Soon after, he took for his second wife, Patzapati, the younger sister of Maia. Thudaudana's sister Amitau was married to Thouppabuddha, the son of King Eetzana.

About four Thingies,⁸ an hundred thousand worlds ago,⁹ the most excellent Buddha, who is infinitely wise and far superior to the three orders of being, the brahmins, the Nats, and men, received at the feet of the Phra Deipinkara the assurance that he would afterward himself become a Buddha. At this time he was a *Rathee*,¹⁰ under the name

⁸ "Thingie" is a number represented by a unit, followed with 64 cyphers; others say 140.

⁹ Buddhists have different ways of classifying the series of worlds which they suppose to succeed each other after the completion of a revolution of nature. As regards Buddhas, who appear at unequal intervals for illuminating and opening the way to deliverance to the then existing beings, worlds are divided into those which are favored with the presence of one or several Buddhas, and those to which so eminent a benefit is denied. The present revolution of nature, which includes the period in which we live, has been privileged above all others. No less than five Buddhas, like five shining suns, are to shoot forth rays of incomparable brilliancy, and dispel the mist of thick darkness that encompasses all beings, according to their respective laws of demerits. Of these five, four, namely, Kaukasan, Gaunagong, Kathaba, Gotama, have already performed their great task. The fifth, named Aremideia, is as yet to come. The religion of Gotama is to last 5,000 years, of which 2,408 are elapsed. The names of the twenty-eight last Buddhas are religiously preserved by Buddhists, together with their age, their stature, the names of the trees under which they have obtained the universal intelligence, their country, with the names of their father and mother, and those of their two chief disciples. Deinpakara occupies the fourth place in the series. He is supposed to have been eighty cubits high, and to have lived 100,000 years.

¹⁰ *Raci*, or *Rathee*, means a hermit, a person living by himself in some lonely and solitary recess, far from the contagious atmosphere of impure society, devoting his time to meditation and contemplation.

of Thumeda. During that immense space of time he practised, in the highest degree, the ten great virtues, the five renouncings, and the three mighty works of perfection. Having become a great prince under the name of Wethandra, he reached the acme of self-abnegation and renouncement of all the things of this world. After his death, he migrated to Toocita, the fourth abode of Nats. During his sojourn in that happy place, enjoying the fulness of pleasure allotted to the fortunate inhabitants of those blissful regions, a sudden and uncommon rumor, accompanied with an extraordinary commotion, proclaimed the gladdening tidings that a Phra was soon to make his appearance in this world.¹¹

On hearing that a Phra was soon to make his appearance amongst men, all the Nats, peaceful inhabitants of the fortunate abode of Toocita, assembled in all haste and crowded around Phralaong,¹² eagerly inquiring from him who was the fortunate Nat to whom was reserved the signal honor of obtaining the incomparable dignity of Buddha. The reason which directed their steps toward our Phralaong and suggested their inquiry was, that in him were already to be

His diet is of the coarsest kind, supplied to him by the forests he lives in; the skins of animals afford him a sufficient dress. Most of those Rathees having reached an uncommon degree of extraordinary attainments, their bodies become spiritualized to an extent which enables them to travel from place to place, by following an aerial course. In Buddhistic legends, comedies, etc., they are frequently mentioned.

¹¹ There are three solemn occasions in which this great rumor is noised abroad. The first, when the Nats, guardians of this world, knowing that 100,000 years hence the end of this world is to come, show themselves amongst men, with their heads hanging down, a sorrowful countenance, and tears streaming down their faces. They are clad in a red dress, and proclaim aloud to all mortals the destruction of this planet, 100,000 years hence. They earnestly call upon men to devote themselves to the observance of the law, to the practise of virtue, the support of parents, and the respect due to virtuous personages. The second, when the same Nats proclaim to men that 1,000 years hence a Buddha or Phra will appear amongst them; and the third solemn occasion is when they come and announce to men that within 100 years there will be in this world a mighty Prince, whose unlimited sway shall extend over the four great islands.

¹² This extraordinary monarch, called Tsekiawade, never makes his appearance during the period of time allotted to the publication and duration of the religious institutions of a Buddha.

observed unmistakable indices, foreshadowing his future greatness.

No sooner had it become known that this incomparable destination was to be his happy lot than Nats from all parts of the world resorted to the abode of Toocita to meet Phralaong and to congratulate him upon this happy occasion. "Most glorious Nat," did they say to him, "you have practised most perfectly the ten great virtues;¹³ the time is now come for you to obtain the sublime nature of Buddha; during former existences you have most rigidly attended to the observance of the greatest precepts and walked steadily in the path of the highest virtues; you sighed then after, and longed for, the happiness of Nats and Bráhmās; but now you have most gloriously achieved the mightiest work, and reached the acme of perfection; it remains with you but to aspire to the full possession of the supreme intelligence, which will enable you to open to all brahmins, Nats, and men the way to the deliverance from those endless series of countless existences they are doomed to go through. Now the light of the law is extinguished, a universal darkness has overspread all minds. Men are, more than ever, slaves to their passions; there is a total lack of love among them; they hate each other, keep up quarrels, strifes, and contentions, and mercilessly destroy each other. You alone can free them from the vicissitudes and miseries essentially connected with the present state of all beings. The time is at last come when you are to become a Buddha."

Unwilling then to return a positive answer, Phralaong modestly replied that he wanted some time to inquire particularly into the great circumstances always attending the coming of Buddha in this world, *viz.*: the epoch or time a Buddha appears; the place he chooses for his apparition or manifestation; the race or caste he is to be born from; and

¹³ Here I make use of the expression "Phralaong," or more correctly "Phraalaong," to designate Buddha before he obtained the supreme knowledge, when he was, as it were, slowly and gradually gravitating toward the center of matchless perfection. In that state it is said of him that he is not yet ripe. The word corresponds, though not exactly, to the Hindu term, a Bodhisvatta.

the age and quality of her who is to be his mother. As regards the first circumstance, Phralaong observed that the apparition of a Buddha could never have taken place during the previous period of 100,000 years and more that had just elapsed, because during that period the life of men was on the increase. The instructions on birth and death as well as on the miseries of life, characterizing Buddha's law, would not then have been received with sufficient interest and attention. Should any attempt have been made at that time to preach on these three great topics, men of those days to whom those great events would have appeared so distant could not have been induced to look upon them with sufficient attention; the four great truths would have made no impression on their minds: vain and fruitless would have been the efforts to disentangle them from the ties of passions then encompassing all beings, and make them sigh after the deliverance from the miseries entailed upon mankind by birth, life, and death. The period when human life is under a hundred years' duration can not be at all the proper period for such an important event, as the passions of men are then so many and so deeply rooted, that in vain Buddha would attempt to preach his law. As the characters a man traces over the smooth superficies of unruffled waters instantly disappear, without leaving any mark behind, so the law and instructions that one would attempt to spread on the hardened hearts of men would make no lasting impression upon them. Hence he concluded that the present period, when the life of men was of about a hundred years' duration, was the proper one for the apparition of a Buddha. This first point having been disposed of, Phralaong examined in what part of the globe a Buddha was to appear.

His view embraced the four great islands,¹⁴ and the 2,000

¹⁴ The duration of a revolution of nature, or the time required for the formation of a world, its existence and destruction—is divided into four periods. The fourth period, or that which begins with the apparition of man on the earth, until its destruction, is divided into 64 parts called Andrakaps. During one Andrakap, the life of man increases gradually from ten years, to an almost uncountable number of years; having reached its maximum of duration, it decreases slowly

small ones. He saw that the island of Dzapoudiba (the southern one) had always been the favorite place selected by all former Buddhas: he fixed upon it, too, for himself. That island, however, is a most extensive one, measuring in length 300 *youdzanas*, in breadth 252, and in circumference 900. He knew that on that island¹⁵ all former Buddhas and semi-Buddhas, the two great *Rahandas*¹⁶ or disciples of the right and left, the prince whose sway is universal — all of them had invariably fixed upon and selected that island, and amidst the various countries on the island, that of Mitzima, the central one, where is to be found the district of Kapilawot. "Thither," said he, "shall I resort, and become a Buddha." Having determined the place he was to select for his terrestrial seat, Phralaong examined the race or caste from which he was to be born. The caste of the people and that of merchants appeared too low and much wanting in respectability and, moreover, no Buddha had ever come out therefrom. That of the Pounhas was, in former times, the most illustrious and respected, but that of Princes, in those days, far surpassed it in power and consideration. He therefore fixed his choice upon the caste of Princes, as the most becoming his future high calling. "I choose," said he, "Prince Thudaudana for my father. As to the princess

to its former short duration of ten years. We live at present in that second part of an Andrakap when the life of man is on the decline and decrease. If my memory serves me right, we have reached at present the ninth or tenth Andrakap of the fourth period.

¹⁵ Our planet or globe is composed, according to Burmese Buddhists, of the mountain Mien-mo, being in height 82,000 *youdzanas* (1 *youdzana* is, according to some authorities equal to a little less than 12 miles) above the surface of the earth; its depth is equal to its height. Around this huge and tall elevation are disposed the four great islands, according to the four points of the compass; and each of these again is surrounded by 500 small islands. The countries south of the great chain of the Himalayas are supposed to form the great island laying at the south.

¹⁶ A *Rahanda* is a being very far advanced in perfection, and gifted with high spiritual attainments which confer to his mortal frame certain distinguished prerogatives of spirits. Concupiscence is totally extinguished in a *Rahanda*; he may be said to be fit for the state of Nirvana. Several classes are assigned to *Rahandas*, according to their various degrees of advancement in the way of perfection.

who is to become my mother, she must be distinguished by a modest deportment and chaste manners, without having even tasted any intoxicating drink. During the duration of 100,000 worlds she must have lived in the practise of virtue, performing with a scrupulous exactitude all the practises and observances prescribed by the law. The great and glorious Princes Maia is the only person in whom all these conditions are to be found. Moreover, the period of her life shall be at an end ten months and seven days hence — she shall be my mother.”

Having thus maturely pondered over these four circumstances, Phralaong, turning to the Nats that surrounded him anxiously expecting his answer, plainly and unreservedly told them that the time for his becoming Buddha had arrived, and bade them to communicate forthwith this great news to all the brahmins and Nats. He rose up and, accompanied by all the Nats of Toocita, withdrew to the delightful garden of Nandawon. After a short sojourn in that place, he left the abode of Nats, descended into the seat of men, and incarnated in the womb of the glorious Maia, who at once understood that she was pregnant with a boy who would obtain the Buddhaship. At the same moment also, the Princess Yathaudara, who was to be the wife of the son of Maia, descended from the seats of Nats, and was conceived in the womb of Amitau, the wife of Prince Thoupabuddha.

At that time the inhabitants of Kapilawot were busily engaged in celebrating, in the midst of extraordinary rejoicings, the festival of the constellation of Outarathan (July–August). But the virtuous Maia, without mixing amid the crowds of those devoted to amusements, during the seven days that preceded the full moon of July, spent her time among her attendants, in making offerings of flowers and perfumes. The day before the full moon she rose up at an early hour, bathed in perfumed water, and distributed to the needy four hundred thousand pieces of silver; attired in her richest dress, she took her meal, and religiously performed all the pious observances usual on such occasions. This being done she entered into her private apartment and,

lying on her couch, fell asleep and had the following dream:

Four princes of Nats of the abode of Tsadumarit took the princess with her couch, carried it to the mount Himawonta,¹⁷ and deposited it on an immense and magnificent rock, sixty *youdzanas* long, adorned with various colors, at the spot where a splendid tree, seven *youdzanas* high, extends its green and rich foliage. The four queens, wives of the four princes of Tsadumarit, approaching the couch where Maia was reclining, took her to the banks of the lake Anawadat, washed her with the water of the lake, and spread over the couch flowers brought from the abode of Nats. Near the lake is a beautiful mountain of a silvery appearance, the summit whereof is crowned with a magnificent and lofty palace. On the east of the palace, in the side of the mount, is a splendid cave. Within the cave a bed similar to that of the Nats was prepared. The princess was led to that place, and sat on the bed, deliciously enjoying a refreshing rest. Opposite this mount, and facing the cave where Maia sat surrounded by her attendants, rose another mount, where Phralaong, in the shape of a young white elephant, was roaming over its sides, in various directions. He was soon seen coming down that hill and, ascending the one where the princess lay on her bed, directed his course toward the cave. On the extremity of his trunk, lifted up like a beautiful string of flowers, he carried a white lily. His voice, occasionally resounding through the air, could be heard distinctly by the inmates of the grotto, and indicated his approach. He soon entered the cave, turned three times round the couch whereupon sat the princess, then standing for a while, he came nearer, opened her right side and appeared to conceal himself in her womb.

In the morning, having awakened from her sleep, the queen related her dream to her husband. King Thudaudana sent without delay for sixty-four Pounhas.¹⁸ On a ground lined

¹⁷ The Mount Himawonta is famous in all Buddhistic compositions, as the scene where great and important events have happened. It is the Himalaya, in all probability, as being the highest range of mountains known to Indian Buddhists.

¹⁸ Pounhas are the brahmins who, even in those days of remote

with cow-dung, parched rice, flowers, and other offerings were carefully deposited and profusely spread, an appropriate place was reserved for the Pounhas. Butter, milk, and honey were served out to them in vases of gold and silver; moreover, several suits of dress and five cows were offered to each of them as presents, as well as many other articles. These preliminaries being arranged, the prince narrated to them the dream, with a request for its explanation.

"Prince," answered the Pounhas, "banish from your mind all anxious thoughts, and be of a cheerful heart; the child whom the princess bears in her womb is not a girl but a boy. He will, after growing up, either live amongst men and then become a mighty ruler whose sway all the human race will acknowledge; or, withdrawing from the tumult of society, he will resort to some solitary place, and there embrace the profession of Rahan. In that condition he will disentangle himself from the miseries attending existence, and at last obtain the high dignity of Buddha." Such was the explanation of the dream.

At the moment Phralaong entered into Maia's womb a great commotion was felt throughout the four elements, and thirty-two wonders simultaneously appeared. A light of an incomparable brightness illuminated suddenly ten thousand worlds; the blind, desirous, as it were, to contemplate the glorious dignity of Phralaong, recovered their sight; the deaf heard distinctly every sound; the dumb spoke with fluency; those whose bodies were bent stood up in an erect position; the lame walked with ease and swiftness; prisoners saw their fetters unloosed, and found themselves restored to liberty,

antiquity, were considered as the wisest in their generation. They had already monopolized the lucrative trade of fortune-tellers, astrologers, etc., and it appears that they have contrived to retain it up to our own days. During my first stay in Burma I became acquainted with a young Pounha, wearing the white dress, and getting his livelihood by telling the horoscopes of newly born infants, and even grown-up people. I learned from him the mode of finding out by calculation the state of the heavens at any given hour soever. This mode of calculation is entirely based on the Hindu system, and has evidently been borrowed from that people.

the fires of hell were extinguished; the ravenous cravings of the *Preithas*¹⁹ were satiated; animals were exempt from all infirmities; all rational beings uttered but words of peace, and mutual benevolence; horses exhibited signs of an excessive joy; elephants, with a solemn and deep voice, expressed their contentment; musical instruments resounded of themselves with the most melodious harmony; gold and silver ornaments worn at the arms and feet, without coming in contact, emitted pleasing sounds; all places became suddenly filled with a resplendent light; refreshing breezes blew gently all over the earth; abundant rain poured from the skies during the hot season, and springs of cool water burst out in every place, carrying through prepared beds their gently murmuring streams; birds of the air stood still, forgetting their usual flight; rivers suspended their course, seized with a mighty astonishment; sea-water became fresh; the five sorts of lilies were to be seen in every direction; every description of flowers burst open, displaying the richness of their brilliant colors; from the branches of all trees, and the bosom of the hardest rocks, flowers shot forth, exhibiting all around the most glowing, dazzling, and varied hues; lilies seemingly rooted in the canopy of the skies hung down scattering their embalmed fragrance; showers of flowers poured from the firmament on the surface of the earth; the musical tunes of the Nats were heard by the rejoiced inhabitants of our globe; hundreds of thousands of worlds suddenly approached each other, sometimes in the shape of an elegant nosegay, sometimes in that of a ball of flowers, or of a spheroid; the choicest essences embalmed the whole atmosphere that encompasses this world. Such are the wonders that took place at the time Phralaong entered his mother's womb.

When this great event happened, four chiefs of Nats from

¹⁹ *Preitha* is a being in a state of punishment and suffering, on account of sins committed in a former existence. He is doomed to live in the solitary recesses of uninhabited mountains, smarting under the pangs of never-satiated hunger. His body, and particularly his stomach, is of gigantic dimensions, whilst his mouth is so small that a needle can scarcely pass through it.

the seat of Tsadumarit,²⁰ armed with swords, kept an uninterrupted watch round the palace, to avert any accident that might prove hurtful to the mother or her blessed fruit. From 10,000 worlds, four Nats from the same seat were actively engaged in driving away all Bilous²¹ and other monsters and forcing them to flee and hide themselves at the extremity of the earth. Maia, free from every disordered propensity, spent her time with her handmaids in the interior of her apartments. Her soul enjoyed a perfect calm, the sweetest happiness; fatigue and weariness never affected her unimpaired health. In his mother's womb Phralaong appeared like the white thread passed through the purest and finest pearls; the womb itself resembled an elegant Dzedi.²²

²⁰ Tsadumarit is the first of the six abodes of Nats. The description of the pleasures enjoyed by the inhabitants of that seat is replete with accounts of the grossest licentiousness.

²¹ A Palou, or rather Bilou, is a monster with a human face, supposed to feed on human flesh. His eyes are of a deep red hue, and his body of so subtle a nature as never to project any shadow. Wonderful tales are told of this monster, which plays a considerable part in most of the Buddhistic writings.

²² A Dzedi is a religious edifice of a conical form, supported on a square basis, and having its top covered with what the Burmese call an umbrella, resembling in its shape the musical instrument vulgarly called *Chapeau chinois* by the French. On each side of the quadrangular basis are opened four niches, in the direction of the four cardinal points, destined to receive statues of Buddha. This monument is of every dimension in size, from the smallest, a few feet high, to the tallest, of one to two hundred feet high. It is to be seen in every direction, and in the neighborhood of towns every elevation is crowned with one or several Dzedis.

The word *Dzedi* meant a sacred depository, that is to say, a place where relics of Buddha were enshrined. The word has been extended since to places which have become receptacles of the scriptures, or of the relics of the distinguished religious, who had acquired eminence by their scientific and moral attainments. In the beginning, those Dzedis were a kind of *tumuli*, or mounds of earth or bricks, erected upon the shrine wherein relics were enclosed. In proportion as the followers of the Buddhistic faith increased in number, wealth, and influence, they erected Dzedis on a grander scale, bearing always a great resemblance in shape and form to the primitive ones. The Stupas, or Topes, discovered in the Punjab, and in other parts of the Indian Peninsula, were real Buddhistic *tumuli*, or Dzedis.

During succeeding ages, when relics could not be procured, the faithful continued to erect Dzedis, intended, by their sight, to remind them of the sacred relics, and they paid to those relics and monuments the

With the solicitous care and vigilant attention one carries about a *thabeit*²³ full of oil, the great Maia watched all her movements, and during ten months, unremittingly labored for the safe preservation of the precious fruit of her womb.

CHAPTER II

The time of her approaching confinement being close at hand, the princess solicited from her husband, King Thudaudana, leave to go to the country of Dewah,¹ among her

same veneration they would have offered to those enriched with those priceless objects. In Burma, in particular, the zeal or rather the rage for building Dzedis has been carried to a degree scarcely to be credited by those who have not visited that country.

It is to be borne in mind that the mothers of Buddhas, having had the singular privilege of giving birth to a child of so exalted a dignity, it would not be convenient or becoming that other mortals should receive life in the same womb, they therefore always die seven days after their delivery and migrate to the abode of Nats, called Toocita.

²³ The *thabeit* is an open-mouthed pot, of a truncated spheroidical form, made of earth, iron, or brass, without ornaments, used by the Buddhist monks when going abroad, in their morning excursions, to receive the alms bestowed on them by the admirers of their holy mode of life.

¹ This country of Dewah is one of the sixteen countries so celebrated in the Buddhistic annals where the greatest religious events have taken place. They are placed in the center, north, and northwest portions of Hindustan. In this place was born the celebrated Dewadat, who became brother-in-law to Buddha himself. But notwithstanding the close ties of relationship that united him to so saintly a personage, Dewadat is represented as the incarnation of evil, ever opposed to Buddha in his benevolent designs in favor of human kind. At last, in an attempt against his brother-in-law's life, he met with a condign punishment. The earth burst open under his feet; and surrounded by devouring flames, he rolled down to the bottom of the lowest hell, acknowledging, however, with the accents of a true but tardy repentance, his errors and the unconquerable power of Buddha. Three red-hot iron bars transfix him perpendicularly, hanging him in an erect position, whilst three other bars pierce him through the shoulders and the side. For his repentance he is to be delivered hereafter from those torments and restored to earth for acquiring merits that may entitle him to a better place in future existences. Some accounts mention that he is to become a Pietzega Buddha. This story respecting Dewadat has given rise in Burma to a very strange misconception. The Burmese, with their usual thoughtlessness, on hearing of the particulars respecting the sufferings and mode of death of our Savior, concluded that he must

friends and relatives. As soon as her request was made known, the King ordered that the whole of the road between Kapilawot and Dewah should be perfectly leveled and lined on both sides with plantain-trees, and adorned with the finest ornaments. Jars full of the purest water were to be deposited all along the road at short intervals. A chair of gold was made ready for conveying the Queen: and a thousand noblemen, attended by an innumerable retinue, were directed to accompany her during the journey. Between the two countries an immense forest of lofty Engyin trees extends at a great distance. As soon as the *cortège* reached it, the five water-lilies shot forth spontaneously from the stem and the main branches of each tree; innumerable birds of all kinds, by their melodious tunes, filled the air with the most ravishing music. Trees similar in beauty to those growing in the seats of Nats, apparently sensible of the presence of the incarnated Buddha, seemed to share in the universal joy.

On beholding this wonderful appearance of all the lofty trees of the forest, the Queen felt a desire to approach nearer and enjoy the marvelous sight offered to her astonished view. Her noble attendants led her forthwith a short distance into the forest. Maia seated on her couch, along with her sister Patzapati, desired her attendants to have it moved closer to an Engyin tree (*shorea robusta*), which she pointed out. Her wishes were immediately complied with. She then rose gently on her couch; her left hand clasped round the neck of her sister, supported her in a standing position. With the right hand she tried to reach and break a small branch, which she wanted to carry away. On that very instant, as the slender rattan, heated by fire, bends down its tender head, all the branches lowered their extremities, offering themselves, as it were, to the hand of the Queen, who unhesitatingly seized and broke the extremity of one of the young boughs. By virtue of a certain power inherent in her

have been no other personage than Dewadat himself, and that, for holding opinions opposite to those of Buddha, he suffered such a punishment. The writer was not a little surprised to find in the writings of the old Barnabite missionaries a lengthened confutation of this supposition.

dignity, on a sudden all the winds blew gently throughout the forest. The attendants having desired all the people to withdraw to a distance, disposed curtains all round the place the Queen was standing on. Whilst she was in that position, admiring the slender bough she held in her hands, the moment of her confinement occurred, and she was delivered of a son.

Four chief brahmins ² received the new-born infant on a golden net-work, and placed him in the presence of the happy mother, saying: "Give yourself up, O Queen, to joy and rejoicing, here is the precious and wonderful fruit of your womb."

From the hands of the four chiefs of brahmins, four chiefs

² According to Buddhistic notions, Buddha labors during his mortal career for the benefit of all living beings. His benevolent and compassionate heart, free from all partiality, feels an ardent desire of opening before them the way that leads to the deliverance from the miseries of every succeeding existence, and bringing them finally to the never-troubled state of Nirvana. Such a generous and benevolent disposition constitutes the genuine characteristic of Buddha. The brahmins inhabiting the sixteen seats of Rupa are all but ripe for obtaining the crowning point of Buddhistic perfection. They wait but for the presence of a Buddha to unloose by his preachings the slender ties that keep them still connected with this material world. The Nats, though far less advanced in merits and perfection, eagerly look forward for the apparition of that great personage, who is to point out to them the means of freeing themselves from the influence of passions, and thereby destroying in them the principle of demerits. Men also in their state of probation and trial want the mighty aid of a Buddha, who will enable them, by his transcendent doctrine, to advance in merits, for either arriving at once to the ever-quiet state of Nirvana, or progressing in the way of merits. Hence, on his birth, Buddha is ministered to by those three sorts of intelligent beings, who are particularly destined to share in the blessings his coming is designed to shower on them.

The mission of a Buddha is that of a savior. His great object is, during his existence, to make use of a Buddhistic expression, to procure the deliverance of all the beings that will listen to his instructions, and observe the precepts of the law. He is distinguished by feelings of compassion and an ardent love for all beings, as well as by an earnest desire of laboring for their welfare. These are the true characteristics of his heart. In this religious system, mention is often made of Pitzgabuddhas, who have all the science and merits of a Buddha, but they are deficient in the above-mentioned qualities, which form, as it were, the essence of a true and genuine Buddha. They are never therefore honored with the noble appellation of Buddha.

of Nats received the blessed child, whom they handed over to men, who placed him on a beautiful white cloth. But to the astonishment of all, he freed himself from the hands of those attending upon him, and stood in a firm and erect position on the ground; casting then a glance toward the east, more than one thousand worlds appeared like a perfectly leveled plain. All the Nats inhabiting those worlds made offerings of flowers and perfumes, exclaiming with exultation: "An exalted personage has made his appearance—who can ever be compared to him; who has ever equaled him? He is indeed the most excellent of all beings." Phralaong looked again toward the three other directions. Lifting up his eyes above and then lowering them, he saw that there was no being equal to him. Conscious of his superiority, he jumped over a distance of seven lengths of a foot, in a northern direction, exclaiming: "This is my last birth—there shall be to me no other state of existence: I am the greatest of all beings."³ He then began to walk steadily in

³ The Chinese, Cochín-Chinese, Singhalese, and Nepaulese legends all agree in attributing to Phralaong to use of reason from the moment he was born, as well as the power of uttering with a proud accent the following words: "I am the greatest of all beings; this is my last existence!" To his own eyes he must have appeared in this world without any competitor, since he knew already that he was destined to release countless beings from the trammels of existence, and lead them to a state of perfect rest, screened forever from the incessant action of merits and demerits. He alone whose mind is deeply imbued with Buddhistic notions can boast exultingly that at last he has arrived at his last existence, and that, within a few years, he will escape out of the whirlpool of endless existences, wherein he has been turning and fluctuating from a state of happiness to one of wretchedness. This perpetual vicissitude is to him the greatest evil, the opposite of which is, therefore, the greatest good. No wonder, then, to hear our Phralaong, who was better acquainted with the miseries attending existence than any one else, exclaiming with the accents of complete joy: "This is my last existence!"

The Burmese translator seems delighted to remark that on two former occasions, Phralaong, then an infant, had spoken distinct words which he addressed to his mother. This happened in the beginning of the two existences during which he practised two of the ten great virtues. It took place first, on the day he was born to that existence when, under the name of Mahauthata, he displayed consummate skill and wisdom. The legend of Mahauthata is a very amusing performance, written in very pure language, and relating stories about as

the same direction. A chief of brahmins held over his head the white umbrella. A Nat carried the golden fan. Other Nats held in their hands the golden sword, the golden slippers, the cope set with the rarest precious stones, and other royal insignia.⁴

Thirty-two mighty wonders had proclaimed the incarnation of Phralaong in his mother's womb, and the same numbers of wonders announced his birth to the earth. Moreover, in that same moment, were born the beautiful Yathaudra, the son of Amittaudana, Ananda, the noblemen Tsanda, Kaludari, and the horse Kantika. The great tree Bodi also sprung from the ground, in the forest of Urouwela, about two *youdzanas* distant from the city of Radzagio, and in a northeast direction from that place, and the four golden vases suddenly reappeared.

credible as those we read in the Arabian "Tales of A Thousand and One Nights." What surprised the writer not a little was to find, in perusing that composition, a decision given by our Mahauthata, in a case perfectly similar to that which showed, in the presence of all Israel, the incomparable wisdom of Solomon. When Phralaong practised the last and most perfect of virtues, liberality, carried to its furthest limits ending in perfect abnegation of self, and renouncing all that he possessed, he entered too into this world with the faculty of speech, and became a prince under the name of Wethandra. The legend of Wethandra is by far the best of all. Taking it as a mere romance, it is replete with circumstantial details well calculated to excite the finest emotions of the heart. The latter part, in particular, can scarcely be read without sharing in the heart-moving feelings of pity and commiseration on beholding our Phralaong parting willingly with all his property, with his wife and his lovely children, and finally offering his own person, to satisfy the ever-renewed calls on his unbounded generosity.

⁴ *Remarks of the Burmese Translator.* On the former existences, our Phralaong is said to have spoken a few words immediately after his birth, *viz.*: when he was Mahauthata and Wethandra. On the first, he came into this world holding in his hands a small plant, which a Nat had brought and placed in his tender hands at that very moment. He showed it to his mother, who asked him what it was. "This is a medicinal plant," replied he, to his astonished mother. The plant was cast into a large jar full of water and the virtualized liquid ever retained the power of curing every kind of bodily distemper. When he was born, or rather began the existence in which he was called Wethandra, he stretched out his hands, asking something from his mother which he might bestow on the needy. The mother put at his disposal one thousand pieces of silver.

The inhabitants of Dewah joining those of Kapilawot, set out for the latter country with the newly born infant, to whom they rendered the greatest honors. The Nats of the seat of Tawadeintha, on hearing that a son was born to King Thudaudana, and that under the shade of the tree Bodi he would become a true Buddha with a perfect knowledge of the four great truths, gave full vent to their boundless joy, hoisting unfurled flags and banners in every direction, in token of their indescribable rejoicing.

There was a celebrated Rathee, named Kaladewila, who had passed through the eight degrees of contemplation, and who was in the habit of resorting daily to the Prince's palace for his food. On that very day, having as usual taken his meal, he ascended to the seat of Tawadeintha⁵ and found the fortunate inhabitants of that seat giving themselves up to uncommon rejoicings. He asked them the reason of such an unusual display of enrapturing transports of exultation. "It is," replied they to the inquiring Rathee, "because a son is born to King Thudaudana, who will soon become a true Buddha. Like all former Buddhas he will preach the law and exhibit in his person and throughout his life the greatest wonders, and a most accomplished pattern of the highest virtues. We will hear the law from his very mouth."

On hearing the answer of the Nats, Kaladewila immediately left the seat of Tawadeintha, and directed his aerial course toward the palace of Thudaudana. Having entered into the palace and occupied the place prepared for him, he

⁵ It is a maxim generally received amongst Buddhists that he who has far advanced in the way of perfection acquires extraordinary powers both in his soul and in his body. The latter obtains a sort of spiritualized nature, or rather matter becomes so refined and purified, that he is enabled to travel over distances with almost the rapidity of the thought of the mind. The former, by the help of continual meditation on the causes and nature of all things, aggrandizes incessantly its sphere of knowledge. The remembrance of the past revives in the mind. From the lofty position such a being is placed in he calmly considers and watches the movement of events that will take place in future times. The more his mind expands, and the sphere of his knowledge extends, the greater are the perfections and refinements attending the coarser part of his being.

conveyed to the King the good tidings of a son having been born unto him.

A few days after this message the royal child was brought into the presence of his rejoicing father. Kaladewila was present on the occasion. Thudaudana ordered that the child should be attired in the finest dresses, and placed in the presence of the Rathee, in order to pay him his respects. But the child rose up and set his two feet on the curled hairs of the venerable personage. The persons present on the occasion, not knowing that a Buddha in his last existence never bows down to any being, thought that the head of the imprudent child would be split into seven parts, as a punishment for his unbecoming behavior. But Kaladewila rising up from his seat, and lifting up his hands to his forehead, bowed respectfully to the infant Phralaong. The King, astonished at such an unusual condescension from so eminent a personage, followed his example, and, out of respect, prostrated before his son.

By virtue of his great spiritual attainments, Kaladewila could recollect at once all that had taken place during the forty preceding worlds, and foresee all that would happen during the same number of future revolutions of nature. On seeing the high perfections shining forth in our Phralaong, he considered attentively whether he would become a Buddha or not. Having ascertained that such a dignity was reserved for him, he wished to know if the remaining period of his own existence would permit him to witness the happy moment when he would be a Buddha. To his deep regret he foresaw that the end of his life would come before the occurrence of that great event, and that he would then have migrated to one of the seats of Arupa, and be, therefore, deprived of the favor of hearing the law from his mouth. This foresight caused a profound sadness in his heart, and abundant tears flowed from his eyes. But when he reflected on the future destiny of the blessed child he could not contain within himself the pure joy that overflowed his soul. The people present on the occasion soon remarked the opposite emotions which alternately affected the soul of Kala-

dewila. They asked him the reason of such an unusual occurrence. "I rejoice," said he, "at the glorious destiny of that child; but I feel sad and disconsolate on thinking that it will not be given to me to see and contemplate him clothed with the dignity of Buddha; I bewail with tears my great misfortune."

With a view of assuaging his sorrow, Kaladewila, casting another glance toward future events, eagerly sought to discover if, among his relatives, there would not be at least one who would be so fortunate as to see Phralaong in the nature of Buddha. He saw with inexpressible delight that his nephew, Nalaka, would enjoy the blessing denied to himself. Thereupon he went in all haste to his sister's house, inquiring about her son. At his request the lad was brought into his presence. "Beloved nephew," said the venerable Rathee, "thirty-five years hence, the son of King Thudaudana will become a Buddha; you will contemplate him in that sublime and exalted nature. From this day, therefore, you shall embrace the profession of Rahan." The young man, who was descended from a long succession of wealthy noblemen, said within himself: "My uncle, indeed, never says anything but under the impulse of irresistible and cogent motives. I will follow his advice and become a Recluse." He immediately ordered the purchase of the insignia of his new profession, a *patta*, a *thingan*,⁶ and other articles. His

⁶ The *thingan*, or *tsiwaran*, is composed of three parts—the *thinbaing*, resembling an ample petticoat, bound up to the waist, with a leathern girdle, and falling down to the heels; the *kowot*, which consists of a sort of cloak of a rectangular shape, covering the shoulders and breast, and reaching somewhat below the knee; and the *dougout*, which is a piece of cloth of the same shape, folded many times, thrown over the left shoulder when going abroad, and used to sit on, when no proper seat has been prepared. The color of these three pieces, constituting the dress of a Recluse, is invariably yellow. The jack-tree supplies the material for dyeing the cloth yellow. In order to maintain a spirit of perfect poverty among the members of the order of Recluses, the Wini prescribes that the *tsiwaran* ought to be made up with rags picked up here and there, and sewed together. The rule, in this respect, at least as far as its spirit goes, is thoroughly disregarded and has become almost a dead letter.

The hairs of the head and the beard being too often objects which vanity turns to its own purposes, are, to say the least, mere super-

head was shaved and he put on the yellow garb. Attired in his new dress he looked around and saw that among all beings the Rahans are by far the most excellent. Then turning toward the place Phralaong occupied, he prostrated himself five successive times in that direction, rose up, placed the *patta* in its bag, threw it over his shoulder, and directed his steps toward the solitude of Himawonta, where he devoted himself to all the exercises of his profession. At the time Phralaong became a Buddha our hermit went to that great master, learned from him the works that lead to the state of perfect stability of mind, returned back to his solitude, and attained to the perfection of *Rahanda* by the practise of the eminent works. Seven months after his return the end of his existence arrived, when, disentangled from all the ties that had hitherto kept him in the world of passions, he reached the happy state of Nirvana.

CHAPTER III

Five days after the birth of Phralaong there took place the ceremony of washing the head and giving him a name. In the apartment of the palace several kinds of perfumed wood and essences, such as sandalwood, lignum, aloes, camphor, etc., were strewed profusely, as well as the most exquisitely scented flowers and parched rice. The *nogana* (a sort of beverage made of milk, sugar, and honey) was prepared in great abundance. One hundred and eighty Pounhas, the most versed in the science of astrology, were invited to partake of a splendid entertainment in the palace. The King made to every one of them costly presents, and desired them to examine carefully all the signs prognosticating the future destiny of his son. Amidst that crowd of soothsayers were the eight Pounhas who had explained the

fluties. A stern contemner of worldly things must of course, do away with things which may prove temptations to him, or at least afford him unnecessary trouble. Hence no layman can ever aspire to become a Rahan unless he has previously submitted to the operation of a complete shaving of the head, including even the eyebrows.

dream of Maia in the beginning of her pregnancy. Seven of them, lifting up the index of each hand of the child were amazed at the wonderful signs their eyes met. "If this child," said they, "remain in the society of men he will become a mighty ruler that will bring all nations under his sway; but if he embrace the profession of Recluse he will certainly become a Buddha." They began to foretell the incomparable glory and high honors that would attend his universal reign. The eighth Pounha, named Kauntagnia, the descendant of the celebrated son of Thudata, and the youngest of all, raised up the index of one hand of the child. Struck with the wonderful and unmistakable signs that forced themselves on his vision, he exclaimed: "No! this child will not remain long in the society of men; he will free himself from the vicissitudes and miseries attending the existence of all beings, and will finally become a Buddha." As the child was to be the instrument for promoting the welfare and merits of all mortals, they gave him the name of Theiddat.

Seven days after her confinement Maia died, and by the virtue of her merits migrated to the seat of Toocita, and became the daughter of a Nat. Her death was not the result of her delivery, but she departed this world because the term of her life had come. On their return to their home the Pounhas assembled their children and said to them: "We are already advanced in years. We dare not promise to ourselves that we will ever see the son of King Thudaudana become a Buddha. But to you such a favor is reserved; listen respectfully to all his instructions and endeavor to enter the profession of Rahan without delay, and withdraw into solitude. Let us also all join you in that holy vocation." Three Pounhas refused the invitation, and would not enter the profession. The five others cheerfully gave up everything and became distinguished members of the ascetic body.

King Thudaudana, hearing of the explanation given by the Pounhas, inquired whether his son was really to become a Rahan. Having been assured that all the signs predicted

the future destiny of his son to such a calling, he desired to know what those signs were. He was told that the four following things were the very signs foreshowing the future career of his son, *viz.*: an old man, a sick man, a dead man, and a Recluse.¹ As soon as his son would have successively remarked those four signs he would immediately come to the conclusion that the state of Rahan is alone worthy of the warm admiration and eager wishes of a wise man.

King Thudaudana, who ardently wished to see his son become a great monarch whose sway would extend over the four great islands and the two thousand smaller ones, gave the strictest orders that none of the four omens should ever meet his eyes. Guards were placed in every direction, at a distance of a mile, charged with but one care, that of keeping out of his son's sight the appearance of those fatal omens.

On that day eighty thousand noblemen, who were present at the great rejoicings, pledged themselves, each one to give one of his male children to attend on the royal infant. "If he become," said they, "a mighty monarch, let our sons be ever with him, as a guard of honor to confer additional luster on his wonderful reign; if ever he be elevated to the sublime dignity of Buddha, let our children enter the holy profession of Recluse, and follow him whithersoever he may direct his steps."

Thudaudana, with the tender solicitude of a vigilant father, procured for his beloved offspring nurses exempt from

¹ The three first allegorical omens, or signs, which, according to the foretelling of the Pounhas, were to be seen and observed hereafter by Phralaong, are designed to mean and express the compound of all miseries attending human existence, from the moment man crosses the threshold of life to that of death. The view of these objects was intended to make him disgusted with a state necessarily accompanied with such an amount of wretchedness. He was soon induced by reflection to hold in contempt the things of this world, and consequently to seek with ardor some means of estranging himself from all visible and material objects. The fourth sign, that is to say, the view of a Rahan, or a contemner of this world, aspiring to the perfect disengagement from the trammel of passions, and shaping his course toward Nirvana, was the very pattern he had to imitate and follow to arrive to that state of perfection, he felt a strong, though somewhat as yet confused, desire of possessing.

all corporal defects, and remarkable for their beautiful and graceful appearance.

The child grew up, surrounded with a brilliant retinue of numerous attendants.

On a certain day happened the joyful feast of the plowing season. The whole country, by the magnificence of the ornaments that decorated it, resembled one of the seats of Nats. The country people, without exception, wearing new dresses, went to the palace. One thousand plows, and the same number of pairs of bullocks, were prepared for the occasion. Eight hundred plows, less one, were to be handled and guided by noblemen. The plows, as well as the yokes and the horns of the bullocks, were covered with silver leaves. But the one reserved for the monarch was covered with leaves of gold. Accompanied by a countless crowd of his people King Thudaudana left the royal city and went into the middle of extensive fields. The royal infant was brought out by his nurses on this joyful occasion. A splendid jambu-tree (*Eugenia*), laden with thick and luxuriant green foliage, offered on that spot a refreshing place under the shade of its far-spreading branches. Here the bed of the child was deposited. A gilt canopy was immediately raised above it, and curtains, embroidered with gold, were disposed round it. Guardians having been appointed to watch over the infant, the King, attended by all his courtiers, directed his steps toward the place where all the plows were held in readiness. He instantly put his hands to his own plow; eight hundred noblemen, less one, and the country people followed his example. Pressing forward his bullocks the King plowed to and fro through the fields. All the plowmen, emulating their royal lord, drove their plows in a uniform direction. The scene presented a most animated and stirring spectacle; it was on an immense scale. The applauding multitude filled the air with cries of joy and exultation. The nurses, who kept watch by the side of the infant's cradle, excited by the animated scene, forgot the prince's orders and ran near to the spot, to enjoy the soul-stirring sight displayed before their admiring eyes. Phralaong, casting a glance all

round and seeing no one close by him, rose up instantly and, sitting in a cross-legged position, remained absorbed, as it were, in a profound meditation. The other nurses, busy in preparing the prince's meal, had spent a longer time than was intended. The shadow of the trees, by the movement of the sun, had turned in an opposite direction. The nurses, reminded by this that the infant had been left alone and that his couch was exposed to the rays of the sun, hastened back to the place they had so imprudently left. But great was their surprise when they saw that the shadow of the jambu-tree had not changed its position, and that the child was quietly sitting on his bed! The news of that wonder was immediately conveyed to King Thudaudana, who came in all haste to witness it. He forthwith prostrated before his son, saying: "This is, beloved child, the second time that I bow to you."

Phralaong having reached his sixteenth year, his father ordered three palaces to be built, for each season of the year. Each palace had nine stories; and forty thousand maidens, skilful in playing all sorts of musical instruments, were in continual attendance upon him, and charmed, by uninterrupted dances and music, all his moments. Phralaong appeared among them with the beauty and dignity of a Nat, surrounded with an immense retinue of daughters of Nats. According to the change of seasons he passed from one palace into another, moving as it were in a circle of ever-renewed pleasures and amusements. It was then that Phralaong was married to the beautiful Yathaudara, his first cousin, and the daughter of Thouppabuddha and of Amitau. It was in the eighty-sixth year of his grandfather's era that he was married. It was in that year also that he was consecrated prince royal, by the pouring of the blessed water over his head.

Whilst Phralaong was spending his time in the midst of pleasures his relatives complained to the King of the conduct of his son. They strongly remonstrated against his mode of living, which precluded him from applying himself to the acquisition of those attainments befitting his exalted station.

Sensible of those reproaches, Thudaudana sent for his son, to whom he made known the complaints directed against him by his relatives. Without showing any emotion the young prince replied: "Let it be announced at the sound of the drum, throughout the country, that this day a week, I will show to my relatives in the presence of the best masters that I am fully conversant with the eighteen sorts of arts and sciences." On the appointed day he displayed before them the extent of his knowledge; they were satisfied, and their doubts and anxieties on his account were entirely removed.

On a certain day Phralaong, desiring to go and enjoy some sports in his garden, ordered his coachman to have his conveyance ready for that purpose. Four horses, richly caparisoned, were put to a beautiful carriage that resembled the dwelling-place of a Nat. Phralaong having occupied his seat, the coachman drove rapidly toward the garden. The Nats, who knew that the time was near at hand when Phralaong would become a Buddha, resolved to place successively before his eyes the four signs foreshadowing his future high dignity. One of them assumed the form of an old man, the body bending forward, with gray hairs, a shriveled skin, and leaning languidly on a heavy staff. In that attire he advanced slowly, with trembling steps, toward the prince's conveyance. He was seen and remarked only by Phralaong and his coachman. "Who is that man?" said the prince to his driver. "The hairs of his head, indeed, do not resemble those of other men." "Prince," answered the coachman, "he is an old man. Every born being is doomed to become like him; his appearance must undergo the greatest changes, the skin by the action of time will shrivel, the hairs turn gray, the veins and arteries, losing their suppleness and elasticity, will become stiff and hardened; the flesh will gradually sink and almost disappear, leaving the bare bones covered with dry skin." "What," said to himself the terrified prince; "birth is indeed a great evil, ushering all beings into a wretched condition, which must be inevitably attended with the disgusting infirmities of old age." His mind being taken up entirely with such considerations, he

ordered his coachman to drive back to the palace. Thudaudana, having inquired from his courtiers what motive had induced his son to return so soon from the place of amusement, was told that he had seen an old man, and that he entertained the thought of becoming a Rahan. "Alas!" said he; "they will succeed in thwarting the high destiny of my son. But let us try now every means to afford him some distraction, so that he may forget the evil idea that has just started up in his mind." He gave orders to bring to his son's palace the prettiest and most accomplished dancing-girls, that in the midst of ever-renewed pleasure he might lose sight of the thought of entering the profession of Rahan. The guard surrounding his palace was doubled, so as to preclude the possibility of his seeing the other signs.

On another day Phralaong, on his way to his garden, met with the same Nat, in the form of a sick man, who appeared sinking under the weight of the most loathsome disease. Frightened at such a sight, Phralaong, hearing from the mouth of his faithful driver what this disgusting object was, returned in all haste to his palace. His father, more and more disturbed at the news conveyed to him, multiplied the pleasures and enjoyments destined for his son, and doubled the number of guards that had to watch over him. On a third occasion, while the prince was taking a walk, the same Nat, assuming the shape of a dead man, offered to the astonished eyes of the prince the shocking spectacle of a corpse. Trembling with fear, the young prince came back forthwith to his residence. Thudaudana, being soon informed of what had taken place, resorted to fresh precautions and extended to the distance of one *youdzana* the immense line of countless guards set all round the palace.

On a fourth occasion, the prince driving rapidly toward his garden, was met on his way by the same Nat, appearing in the meek form of a Rahan. The curiosity of the prince was awakened by the unusual sight of that strange personage; he asked his coachman what he was. "Prince," answered the coachman, "he is a Rahan." At the same time, though little acquainted with the high dignity and sublime qualifi-

cations of a Recluse, he was enabled by the power of the Nats to praise and extol in dignified language the profession and merits of Rahans. The prince felt instantaneously an almost irresistible inclination to embrace that attractive mode of life. He quietly went as far as his garden.

The whole day was spent in all sorts of rural diversions. Having bathed in a magnificent tank, he went, a little before sunset, to rest awhile on a large well-polished stone table, overshadowed by the far-spreading branches of beautiful trees, hanging above it, waiting for the time to put on his richest dress. All his attendants were busily engaged in preparing the finest clothes and most elegant ornaments. When all was ready they stood silent round him, waiting for his orders. Perfumes of every description were disposed in a circular row, with the various ornaments, on the table whereon the prince was sitting.

At that very moment a chief Thagia was quietly enjoying a delicious and refreshing rest on the famous stone table, called Pantu Kambala. On a sudden he felt his seat, as it were, getting hot. "Lo! what does this mean," said the astonished Thagia; "am I doomed to lose my happy state?" Having recollected himself and reflected a while on the cause of such a wonderful occurrence, he soon knew that Phralaong was preparing to put on for the last time his princely dress. He called to him a son of a Nat, named Withakiun, and said to him: "On this day, at midnight, Prince Theiddat is to leave his palace and withdraw into solitude; now he is in his garden preparing to put on his richest attire for the last time: go, therefore, without a moment's delay, to the place where he is sitting, surrounded by his attendants, and perform for him all the required services." Bowing respectfully to the chief of Thagias, Withakiun obeyed, and by the power inherent in the nature of Nats he was, in an instant, carried to the presence of Phralaong. He assumed the figure of his barber and immediately set to work, arranging the turban, with much artistry, round his head. Phralaong soon found out that the skilful hand which disposed the folds of his head-dress was not that of a man, but of a Nat. One

fold of the turban appeared like one thousand, and ten folds like ten thousand folds, offering the magical *coup-d'œil* of as many different pieces of cloth, arranged with the most consummate skill. The extremity of the turban, which crossed vertically the whole breadth of the countless folds, appeared covered with a profusion of shining rubies. The head of Phralaong was small, but the folds of the turban seemed numberless. How could that be so? It is a wonder surpassing our understanding; it would be rashness and temerity to allow our mind to dwell too much upon it.

Having completely dressed, Phralaong² found himself surrounded by all sorts of musicians, singers, and dancers, vying with each other in their endeavors to increase the rejoicing. The Pounhas sung aloud his praise. "May he conquer and triumph! may his wishes and desires be ever fulfilled!" The multitude repeated incessantly in his honor stanzas of praises and blessings. In the midst of universal rejoicings Phralaong ascended his carriage. He had scarcely seated himself in it, when a message sent by his father conveyed to him the tidings that Yathaudra had been delivered of a son. "That child," replied he with great coolness, "is a new and strong tie I will have to break." The answer having been brought to his father, Thudaudana could not understand its meaning. He, however, caused his grandson to be named Raoula. Phralaong sitting in his carriage, surrounded by crowds of people who rent the air with cries of joy and jubilation, entered into the city of Kapilawot. At that moment a princess named Keissa Gautami was contemplating from her apartments the triumphant entrance of Phralaong into the city. She admired the noble

² The triumphant return of Phralaong from his garden to the city, when he is attired with the richest dress, is commemorated by Buddhists, at least in Burma, on the day a young boy is preparing to enter into a monastery of Recluses, for the purpose of putting on the yellow robe, and preparing himself to become afterward a member of the order, if he feel an inclination to enlist in its ranks. Phralaong was bidding a last farewell to the world, its pomps and vanities. So likewise the youthful candidate, who is led processionally through the streets, riding a richly caparisoned horse, or sitting on an elegant palanquin, carried on the shoulders of men.

and graceful deportment of Prince Theiddat, and exclaimed with feelings of inexpressible delight: "Happy the father and mother who have such an incomparable son: happy the wife who is blest with such an accomplished husband." On hearing those words, Phralaong desired to understand their meaning and know their bearing. "By what means," said he to himself, "can a heart find peace and happiness?" As his heart was already disentangled from the thralldom of passions, he readily perceived that real happiness could be found but in the extinction of concupiscence, pride, ignorance, and other passions. He resolved henceforth to search ardently for the happy state of Nirvana, by quitting, on this very night, the world, leaving the society of men, and withdrawing into solitude. Detaching from his neck a collar of pearls of immense value, he sent it to Keissa Gautami as a token of gratitude for the excellent lesson she had given him by the words she had uttered in his praise. The young princess received it as a mark of favor she imagined Prince Theiddat intended to pay her. Without further thought of her, he retired into his own apartment to rest.

CHAPTER IV

Phralaong had scarcely begun to recline on his couch when a crowd of young damsels, whose beauty equaled that of the daughters of Nats, executed all manner of dances to the sound of the most ravishing symphony, and displayed in all their movements the graceful forms of their elegant and well-shaped persons, in order to make some impression upon his heart. But all was in vain: they were foiled in their repeated attempts. Phralaong fell into a deep sleep. The damsels, perceiving their disappointment, ceased their dances, laid aside their musical instruments, and soon following the example of Phralaong, quietly yielded to the soporific influence caused by their useless and harassing exertions. The lamps, lighted with fragrant oil, continued to pour a flood of bright light throughout the apartment. Phralaong awoke a little before midnight, and assumed a

cross-legged position on his couch. Looking all around him he saw the varied attitudes and uninviting appearance of the sleeping damsels. Some were snoring, others gnashing their teeth, others with wide-open mouths; some tossed heavily from the right to the left side, others stretched one arm upward and the other downward; some seized, as it were, with a frantic pang, suddenly coiled up their legs for a while, and with the same violent motion again pushed them down. This unexpected exhibition made a strong impression on Phralaong; his heart was set, if possible, freer from the ties of concupiscence, or rather confirmed his contempt for all worldly pleasures. It appeared to him that his magnificent apartments were filled with the most loathsome and putrid carcasses. The seats of passions, those of Rupa, and those of Arupa, that is to say the whole world, seemed to his eyes like a house that is a prey to the devouring flames. "All that," said he to himself, "is most disgusting and despicable." At the same time his ardent desires for the profession of Rahan were increasing with an uncontrollable energy. "On this day at this very moment," said he with an unshaken firmness, "I will retire into a solitary place." He rose instantly and went to the arched door of his apartment. "Who is here watching?" said he to the first person he met. "Your servant," replied instantly the vigilant nobleman Tsanda. "Rise up quickly," replied the prince, "now I am ready to retire from the world and resort to some lonely place. Go to the stable and prepare the fastest of my horses." Tsanda bowed respectfully to his master and executed his orders with the utmost celerity. The horse Kantika, knowing the intentions of the prince, felt an inexpressible joy at being selected for such a good errand; he testified his joy by loud neighs; but, by the power of the Nats, the sound of his voice was silenced; so that none heard it.

While Tsanda, in compliance with the orders he had received, was making the necessary preparations, Phralaong desired to see his newly born son Raoula. He opened gently the door of the room where the princess was sleeping. She

lay with one of her hands placed over the head of the infant. Phralaong stopping at the threshold said to himself: "If I go farther to view the child I will have to remove the hand of the mother; she may be awakened by this movement, and then she will prove a great obstacle to my departure. I will see the child after having become a Buddha." He then closed the door and left the palace. His charger was waiting for him. "To your swiftness," said Phralaong to Kantika, "do I trust for executing my great design. I must become a Buddha, and labor for the deliverance of men and Nats from the miseries of existence, and lead them safely to the peaceful shores of Nirvana." In a moment he was on the back of his favorite horse. Kantika was a magnificent animal; his body measured eighteen cubits in length; his height and circumference were in perfect proportion with his length. The hair was of a beautiful white, resembling a newly cleaned shell; his swiftness was unrivaled, and his neighings could be heard at a very great distance; but on this occasion the Nats intervened; no sound of his voice was heard, and the noise of his steps was completely silenced. Having reached the gate of the city, Phralaong stopped for a while, uncertain with regard to the course he was to follow. To open the gate which a thousand men could but with difficulty make to turn upon its hinges, was deemed an impossibility. Whilst he was deliberating with his faithful attendant Tsanda, the huge gate was silently opened by the Nats, and a free passage given to him through it. It was in the year 97 that he left Kapilawot.

Phralaong had scarcely crossed the threshold of the gate when the tempter endeavored to thwart his pious design. Manh¹ Nat resolved to prevent him from retiring into soli-

¹ Phralaong having overcome with uncommon fortitude the numberless obstacles which he had encountered on the part of men, will have now to meet another foe, perhaps more formidable, a wicked Nat or demon. His name, according to its orthography, is Mar, or Mara, but the Burmese call him Manh, which means "pride." Manh is, therefore, the evil spirit of pride, or rather personified pride and the enemy of mankind, ever ready to oppose the benevolent designs and generous efforts of Buddha, in carrying on his great undertaking cal-

tude and becoming a Buddha. Standing in the air, he cried aloud: "Prince Theiddat, do not attempt to lead the life of a Recluse; seven days hence you will become a Tsekiawaday: your sway shall extend over the four great islands; return forthwith to your palace." "Who are you?" asked Phralaong. "I am Manh Nat," cried the voice. "I know," said Phralaong, "that I can become a Tsekiawaday, but I feel not the least inclination for earthly dignities; my aim is to arrive at the nature of Buddha." The tempter, urged onward by his three wicked propensities, concupiscence, ignorance and anger, did not part for a moment from Phralaong; but as the shadow always accompanies the body, he too, from that day, followed always Phralaong, striving to throw every obstacle in his way toward the dignity of Buddha. Trampling down every human and worldly consideration, and despising a power full of vanity and illusion, Phralaong left the city of Kapilawot, at the full moon of July under the constellation Uttarathan. A little while after he felt a strong desire to turn back his head and cast a last glance over the magnificent city he was leaving behind him; but he soon overcame that inordinate desire and denied to himself this gratification. It is said that on the very instant he was combating the rising sense of curiosity the mighty earth turned with a great velocity, like a potter's wheel, so that the very object he denied himself the satisfaction of contemplat-

culated to benefit humanity, by teaching men the way that leads to their deliverance from all miseries. The first plan concocted by Manh, for stopping, at the very onset, the progress of Phralaong, is to flatter his ambition by promising him "all the kingdoms of this world and their glory." From that day, the tempter never lost sight of the benevolent Buddha, but followed him everywhere, endeavoring to prevent the immense success that was to attend his future mission. The evil propensities which constitute, as it were, the very essence of Manh's nature, are concupiscence, envy, and an irresistible proneness to do harm.

It is really interesting through the course of this legend to read of the uninterrupted efforts made by the personification of evil to thwart Buddha in all his benevolent designs. The antagonism begins now, but it will be maintained with an obstinate and prolonged activity during the whole life of Buddha.

ing came of itself under his eyes. Phralaong hesitated awhile as to the direction he was to follow, but finally resolved to push on straight before him.

His progress through the country resembled a splendid triumphal ovation. Sixty thousand Nats marched in front of him, an equal number followed him, and as many surrounded him on his right and on his left. All of them carried lighted torches, pouring a flood of light in every direction; others again spread perfumes and flowers brought from their own seats. All joined in chorus, singing the praises of Phralaong. The sound of their united voices resembled the loud peals of continued thunder, and the resounding of the mighty waves at the foot of the mount Ugando. Flowers shedding the most fragrant odor were seen gracefully undulating in the air, like an immense canopy, extending to the farthest limits of the horizon.

During that night Phralaong, attended with that brilliant retinue, traveled a distance of thirty *youdzanas*, and arrived on the banks of the river Anauma. Turning his face toward Tsanda, he asked what was the river's name. "Anauma is its name," replied his faithful attendant. "I will not," said Phralaong to himself, "show myself unworthy of the high dignity I aspire to." Spurring his horse, the goaded animal leaped at once to the opposite bank. Phralaong alighted on the ground, which was covered with a fine sand, resembling pearls when the rays of the sun fall thereon in the morning. On that spot he divested himself of his dress, and calling Tsanda to him, he directed him to take charge of his ornaments and take them back, with the horse Kantika, to his palace. For himself, he had made up his mind to become a Rahan. "Your servant too," replied Tsanda, "will become also a Recluse in your company." "No," said the prince, "the profession of Rahan does not at present befit you." He reiterated this prohibition three times.

When he was handing over to Tsanda his costly ornaments he said to himself: "These long hairs that cover my head, and my beard too, are superfluties unbecoming the profession of Rahan." Whereupon, with one hand unsheathing

his sword, and with the other seizing his comely hairs, he cut them with a single stroke. What remained of his hairs on the head measured about one inch and a half in length. In like manner he disposed of his beard. From that time he never needed shaving — the hairs of his beard and those of the head never grow longer during the remainder of his life.² Holding his hairs and turban together, he cried aloud: "If I am destined to become a Buddha, let these hairs and turban remain suspended in the air; if not, let them drop down on the ground." Throwing up both to a height of one *youdzana*, they remained suspended in the air until a Nat came with a rich basket, put them therein, and carried them to the seat of Tawadeintha. He there erected the Dzedi Dzoulamani, wherein they were religiously deposited.

Casting his eyes on his own person, Phralaong saw that his rich and shining robe did not answer his purpose, nor appear befitting the poor and humble profession he was about to embrace. Whilst his attention was taken up with this consideration a great brahmin named Gatigara, who in the days of the Buddha Kathaba had been an intimate friend of our Phralaong, and who during the period that elapsed between the manifestation of that Buddha to the present time had not grown old, discovered at once the perplexity of his friend's mind. "Prince Theiddat," said he, "is preparing to become a Rahan, but he is not supplied with the dress and other complements essential to his future calling. I will provide him now with the *thinbaing*, the *kowot*, the *dougout*, the *patta*, the leathern girdle, the hatchet, the needle, and

² This circumstance explains one peculiarity observable in all the statues representing Buddha. The head is invariably covered with sharp points, resembling those thorns with which the thick envelope of the durian fruit is armed. Often I had inquired as to the motive that induced native sculptors to leave on the head of all statues the resemblance of inverted nails, without ever being able to obtain any satisfactory answer. It was only after having read this passage of the life of Buddha that I was enabled to account for this apparently singular custom which is designed to remind all Buddhists of the ever-continued wonder whereby the hairs which remained on Buddha's head never grew longer, from the day he cut them with his sword.

filter.”³ He took with him all these articles, and in an instant arrived in the presence of Phralaong, to whom he presented them. Though unacquainted with the details of that dress, and untrained to the use of those new articles, the prince, like a man who had been a Recluse during several existences, put on with a graceful gravity his new dress. He adjusted the *thinbaing* round his waist, covered his body with the *kowot*, threw the *dougout* over his shoulders, and suspended to his neck the bag containing the earthen *patta*.

Assuming the grave, meek, and dignified countenance of a Rahan, he called Tsanda and bade him to go back to his father and relate to him all that he had seen. Tsanda, complying with his master's request, prostrated himself three times before him; then rising up, he wheeled to the right and departed. The spirited horse, hearing the last words of Phralaong, could no more control his grief.⁴

³ Every Talapoin, or Recluse, must be provided with one needle, wherewith he is to sew his dress, one hatchet to cut the wood he may be in need of, either for erecting a shelter for himself or for other purposes, and one filter to strain the water he intends to drink, that it should be cleared of all impurities, but chiefly of insects or any living body that might be in it, which would expose the drinker thereof to the enormous sin of causing the death of some animal!

⁴ The various accounts that are given of the horse Kantika, and the grief he feels at parting with his master, grief which is so intense as to cause his death, may appear somewhat extraordinary, puerile, and ridiculous to every one, except to Buddhists. One great principle of that religious system is that man does not differ from animals in nature, but only in relative perfection. In animals there are souls as well as in men, but those souls, on account of the paucity of their merits and the multiplicity of their demerits, are yet in a very imperfect state. When the law of demerits grows weak, and that of merits gathers strength, the soul, though continuing to inhabit the body of animals, has the knowledge of good and evil, and can attain to a certain degree of perfection. Buddhistic writings supply many instances of this belief. Whilst Buddha was in the desert an elephant ministered to all his wants. As a reward for such a series of services Buddha preached to him the law, and led him at once to the deliverance, that is to say, to the state of Nirvana. When one animal has progressed so far in the way of merits as to be able to discern between good and bad, it is said that he is ripe, or fit to become man. The horse Kantika seems to have reached that state of full ripeness, since after his death he passed to the state of Nat. This peculiar tenet of Buddhistic faith accounts for the first of the five great commands which extends to animals the formal injunction of not killing. When

"Alas!" said he, "I will see no more my master in this world." His sorrow grew so great that his heart split into two parts, and he died on the spot.

After his death he became a Nat in the seat of Tawadeintha. The affliction of Tsanda, at parting with his good master, was increased by the death of Kantika. The tears that streamed down his cheeks resembled drops of liquid silver.

Phralaong, having thus begun the life of a Recluse, spent seven days alone in a forest of mango-trees, enjoying in that retirement the peace and happiness of soul which solitude alone can confer. The place, in the neighborhood of which he began his religious life, is called Anupya, in the country belonging to the Mall princes. He then started for the country of Radzagio, traveling on foot a distance of thirty *youdzanas*. Arrived near the gate of the royal city, Phralaong stopped for a while, saying within himself: "Peimpathara, the king of this country, will, no doubt, hear of my arrival at this place. Knowing that the son of King Thudaudana is actually in his own royal city, he will insist upon my accepting all sorts of presents. But now in my capacity of Rahan I must decline accepting them, and by the rules of my profession I am bound to go and beg along the streets, from house to house, the food necessary for my support. He instantly resumed his journey, entered the city through the eastern gate, the *patta* hanging at his side, and followed the first row of houses, receiving the alms which pious hands offered him. At the moment of his arrival the whole city was shaken by a mighty commotion, like that which is felt in the seat of Thura when the Nat Athurein brings his apparition into it. The inhabitants, terrified at such an ominous sign, ran in haste to the palace. Admitted into the presence of the monarch, they told him that they knew not

a candidate is admitted, according to the prescriptions contained in the sacred Kambawa, into the order of Rahans, he is expressly and solemnly commanded to refrain from committing four sins which would deprive him *de facto* of the dignity he has been elevated to. The taking away willingly of the life of anything animate is one of these four transgressions.

what sort of being had just arrived in the city, walking through the streets and begging alms. They could not ascertain whether he was a Nat, a man, or a Galong. The king, looking from his apartments over the city, saw Phralaong, whose meek deportment removed all anxiety from his mind. He, however, directed a few of his noblemen to go and watch attentively all the movements of the stranger. "If he be," said he, "a Bilou, he will soon leave the city and vanish away; if a Nat, he will raise himself in the air; if a Naga, he will plunge to the bottom of the earth." Phralaong, having obtained the quantity of rice, vegetables, etc., he thought sufficient for his meal, left the city through the same gate by which he had entered it, sat down at the foot of a low hill, his face turned toward the east, and tried to make a meal of the things he had received. He could not swallow the first mouthful, which he ejected in utter disgust. Accustomed to live sumptuously and feed on the most delicate things, his eyes could not bear even the sight of that loathsome mixture of the coarsest articles of food, collected at the bottom of his *patta*. He soon, however, recovered from that shock; and gathered fresh strength to subdue the opposition of nature, overcome its repugnance, and conquer its resistance. Reproaching himself for such an unbecoming weakness: "Was I not aware," said he, with a feeling of indignation against himself, "that when I took up the dress of a mendicant, such would be my food? The moment is come to trample upon nature's appetites." Whereupon he took up his *patta*, ate cheerfully his meal and never afterward did he feel any repugnance for what things soever he had to eat.

The king's messengers having closely watched and attentively observed all that had happened, returned to their master, to whom they related all the particulars they had witnessed. "Let my carriage be ready," said the king, "and you, follow me to the place where this stranger is resting." He soon perceived Phralaong at a distance, sitting quietly after his refection. Peimpathara alighted from his conveyance, respectfully drew near to Phralaong, and having

occupied a seat in a becoming place, he found himself overwhelmed with contentment and inexpressible joy, so much so that he could scarcely find words to give utterance to his feelings. Having at last recovered from the first impression, he addressed Phralaong in the following manner: "Venerable Rahan, you seem to be young still, and in the prime of your life; in your person you are gifted with the most attractive and noble qualities, indicating surely your illustrious and royal extraction. I have under my control and in my possession a countless aggregation of officers, elephants, horses, and chariots, affording every desirable convenience for pleasure and amusement of every description. Please to accept of a retinue of attendants with whom you may enjoy yourself whilst remaining within my dominions. May I be allowed to ask what country you belong to, who you are, and from what illustrious lineage and descent you are come?" Phralaong said to himself: "It is evident that the king is unacquainted with both my name and origin; I will, however, satisfy him on the subject of his inquiry." Pointing out with his hand the direction of the place he had come from, he said: "I arrive from the country which has been governed by a long succession of the descendants of Prince Kothala. I have indeed been born from royal progenitors, but I have abandoned all the prerogatives attached to my position, and embraced the profession of Rahan. From my heart I have rooted up concupiscence, covetousness, and all affections for the things of this world." To this the king replied: "I have heard that Prince Theiddat, son of King Thudaudana, had seen four great signs, portending his future destiny for the profession of Rahan, which would be but a step to lead him to the exalted dignity of a Buddha. The first part of the prediction has been already fulfilled. When the second shall have received its accomplishment I beg you will show your benevolence to me and my people. I hope my kingdom will be the first country you will direct your steps to, after having acquired the supreme science." To this Phralaong graciously assented.

Phralaong having left the king, resumed his journey and

fell in with a *Rathee*, or hermit, named Alara, and inquired about the several Dzans. Alara satisfied him on four kinds of Dzans, but regarding the fifth, he was obliged to refer him to another *Rathee* named Oudaka, who gave him the desired explanations. Having nothing more to learn from those masters, Phralaong said to himself: "The knowledge I have thus acquired is not sufficient to enable me to obtain the dignity of Buddha." Whereupon he resolved to devote himself to the *Kamatan*,⁵ or meditation on the instability and nothingness of all that exists. To effectuate thoroughly his pur-

⁵ *Kamatan* means the fixing of the attention on one object so as to investigate thoroughly all its constituent parts, its principle and origin, its existence, and its final destruction. It is that part of metaphysics which treats of the beginning, nature, and end of beings. To become proficient in that science a man must be gifted with a most extensive knowledge and an analyzing mind of no common cast. The process of *Kamatan* works are as follows: let it be supposed that man intends to contemplate one of the four elements; fire, for instance; he abstracts himself from every object which is not fire, and devotes all his attention to the contemplation of that object alone; he examines the nature of fire, and finding it a compound of several distinct parts he investigates the cause or causes that keep those parts together, and soon discovers that they are but accidental ones, the action whereof may be impeded or destroyed by the occurrence of any sudden accident. He concludes that fire has but a fictitious ephemeral existence. The same method is followed in examining the other elements, and gradually all other things he may come in contact with, and his final conclusion is, that all things placed without him have no real existence, being mere illusions divested of all reality. He infers, again, that all things are subjected to the law of incessant change, without fixity or stability. The wise man therefore can feel no attachment for objects which in his own opinion are but illusions and deception; his mind can nowhere find rest in the midst of illusions always succeeding each other. Having surveyed all that is distinct of self, he applies himself to the work of investigating the origin and nature of his body. After a lengthened examination he arrives, as a matter of course, at the same conclusion: his body is a mere illusion without reality, subjected to changes and destruction. He feels that it is as yet distinct from self. He despises his body as he does everything else, and has no concern for it. He longs for the state of Nirvana as the only one worthy of the wise man's earnest desires. By such a preliminary step, the student, having estranged himself from this world of illusions, advances toward the study of the excellent works which will pave the way to Nirvana. The Burmese reckon forty *Kamatans*. They are often repeated over by devotees, whose weak intellect is utterly incapable of understanding the meaning they are designed to convey to the mind.

pose he repaired to the solitude of Urouwela, where he devoted all his time to the deepest meditation. On a certain day it happened that five Rahans, on their way to a certain place to get their food, arrived at the spot where Phralaong lived and had already entered on the course of his penitential deeds. They soon became impressed with the idea that our hermit was to become a Buddha. They resolved to stay with him and render him needful services, such as sweeping, cooking rice, etc.

The time of the six years of meditation was nearly over, when Phralaong undertook a great fast,⁶ which was carried to such a degree of abstemiousness that he scarcely allowed himself more than a grain of rice or sesamum a day, and finally denied himself even that feeble pittance. But the Nats, who had observed his excessive mortification, inserted Nat food through the pores of his skin. Whilst Phralaong was thus undergoing such a severe fasting, his face, once a beautiful gold color, became black; the thirty-two marks indicative of his future dignity disappeared. On a certain day, when he was walking in a much enfeebled state, he suddenly felt an extreme weakness, similar to that caused by dire starvation. Unable to bear up any longer, he fainted and fell to the ground. Among the Nats that were present,

⁶ From a Buddhistie point of view the only reason that may be assigned for the extraordinary fast of Phralaong is the satisfaction of showing to the world the display of a wonderful act. Fastings and other works of mortification have always been much practised by the Indian philosophers of past ages, who thereby attracted the notice, respect, admiration, and veneration of the world. Such rigorous exercises, too, were deemed of great help in enabling the soul to have a more perfect control over the senses, and subjecting them to the empire of reason. They are also conducive toward the calm and undisturbed state where the soul is better fitted for the arduous task of constant meditation. The fast of Gotama, preparatory to his obtaining the Buddhahip, recalls to the mind that which our Lord underwent ere he began his divine mission. If the writer, through this work, has made once or twice a remark of similar import, he has done so not with the intention of stating facts. He has communicated to the reader the feelings of surprise and astonishment he experienced when he thought to have met with many circumstances, respecting the founder of Buddhism, which apparently bear great similarity to some connected with the mission of our Savior.

some said: "The Rahan Gotama is dead indeed"; others replied: "He is not dead, but has fainted from want of food." Those who believed he was dead hastened to his father's palace to convey to him the sad message of his son's death. Thudaudana inquired if his son had died previous to his becoming a Buddha. Having been answered in the affirmative, he refused to credit the words of the Nats. The reason of his doubting the accuracy of the report was that he had witnessed the great wonders prognosticating his son's future dignity that had taken place, first when Phralaong, then an infant, was placed in the presence of a famous Rathee, and secondly, when he slept under the shade of the tree Tsampu-thabia. The fainting being over, and Phralaong having recovered his senses, the same Nats went in all haste to Thudaudana, to inform him of his son's happy recovery. "I knew well," said the king, "that my son could not die ere he had become a Buddha." The fame of Phralaong having spent six years in a solitude, and his addiction to meditation and mortification, spread abroad like the sound of a great bell hung in the canopy of the skies.

Phralaong soon realized that fasting and mortification were not works of sufficient value for attaining the dignity of Buddha; he took up his *patta* and went to the neighboring village to get his food. Having eaten it, he grew stronger; his beautiful face shone again like gold, and the thirty-two signs reappeared.⁷ The five Rahans that had lived with him said to each other: "it is in vain that the

⁷ One of the genuine characters of Buddhism is correctly exhibited in this observation of Phralaong respecting fasts, mortifications, and other self-inflicted penances. They are not looked upon as the immediate way leading to perfection, nor as *a portion*, or a part of perfection itself. Such deeds are but means resorted to for weakening passions and increasing the power of the spiritual principle over the natural one: they are preparatory to the great work of meditation or the study of truth, which is the only high road to perfection. To the sage that has already begun the laborious task of investigating truth, such practises are of no use, and are nowhere insisted on as necessary, or even useful. In the book of discipline no mention is made of them. The life of the initiated is one of self-denial; all superfluities and luxuries are strictly interdicted; all that is calculated to minister to passions and pleasure is carefully excluded. But the great austerities

Rahan Gotama has, during six years of mortification and sufferings, sought the dignity of Buddha; he is now compelled to go out in search of food; assuredly if he be obliged to live on such food, when shall he ever become a Buddha? He goes out in quest of food; verily he aims at enriching himself. As the man that wants drops of dew or water to refresh and wash his forehead has to look for them, so we have to go somewhere else to learn the way to and the merit of Dzan, which we have not been able to obtain from him." Whereupon they left Phralaong, took up their *patlas* and *tsi-warans*, went to a distance of eighteen *youdzanas*, and withdrew into the forest of Migadawon, near Baranathe.

CHAPTER V

At that time, in the solitude of Urouwela, there lived in a village a rich man named Thena. He had a daughter named Thudzata. Having attained the years of puberty, she repaired to a place where there was a Gnialong tree and made the following prayer to the Nat guardian of the place:¹ "If

and macerations practised by the Religious of the Brahminical sect are at once rejected by the Buddhist sages as unprofitable and unnecessary to them.

¹ The Nats, or Dewatas, play a conspicuous part in the affairs of this world. Their seats are in the six lower heavens, forming, with the abode of man and the four states of punishment, the eleven seats of passions. But they often quit their respective places, and interfere with the chief events that take place among men. Hence we see them ever attentive in ministering to all the wants of the future Buddha. Besides, they are made to watch over trees, forests, villages, towns, cities, fountains, rivers, etc. These are the good and benevolent Nats. This world is also supposed to be peopled with wicked Nats, whose nature is ever prone to the evil. A good deal of the worship of Buddhists consists in superstitious ceremonies and offerings made for propitiating the wicked Nats, and obtaining favors and temporal advantages from the good ones. Such a worship is universal, and fully countenanced by the Talapoins, though in opposition to the real doctrines of genuine Buddhism. All kinds of misfortunes are attributed to the malignant interference of the evil Nats. In case of severe illness that has resisted the skill of native medical art, the physician gravely tells the patient and his relatives that it is useless to have recourse any longer to medicines, but a conjuror must be sent for, to drive out the malignant spirit who is the author of the complaint.

I marry a husband that will prove a suitable match, and the first fruit of our union be a male child, I will spend annually in alms deeds one hundred thousand pieces of silver, and make an offering at this spot." Her prayer was heard, and its twofold object granted. When Phralaong had ended the six years of his fasting and mortification, on the day of the full moon of the month Katson, Thudzata was preparing to make her grateful offering to the Nat of the place. She had been keeping one thousand cows in a place abounding with sweet vines; the milk of those one thousand cows was given to five hundred cows; these again fed with their own milk two hundred and fifty other cows, and so on in a diminutive proportion, until it happened that sixteen cows fed eight others with their milk. So these eight cows gave a milk, rich, sweet, and flavored beyond all description.

On the day of the full moon of Katson, Thudzata rose at an early hour, to make ready her offering, and disposed of everything so that the cows should be simultaneously milked. When they were to be milked, the young calves of their own accord kept at a distance; and as soon as the vessels were brought near, the milk began to flow in streams, from the udders, into those vessels. She took the milk and poured it into a large caldron, set on the fire which she had herself kindled. The milk began to boil; bubbles formed on the surface of the liquid, turned on the right and sunk in, not a single drop being spilt out; no smoke arose from the fireplace. Four kings of Nats watched about, while the caldron was boiling, the great Bráhmâ kept open an umbrella over it; a Thagia brought fuel and fed the fire. Other Nats, by their supernatural power, infused honey into the milk, and communicated thereto a flavor the like of which is not to be found in the abode of men. On this occasion alone, and on the day Phralaong entered the state of Nirvana, the Nats infused honey into his food. Wondering at the many extraordinary signs she saw, Thudzata called her female slave named Sounama, related to her all that she had observed, and directed her to go to the Gnialong tree and clear away the place where she intended to make her offering.

The servant complying with her mistress' direction, soon arrived at the foot of the tree.

On that very night Phralaong had had five dreams.² First, it appeared to him that the earth was his sleeping-place, with the Himawonta for his pillow. His hand rested on the western ocean, his left hand on the eastern ocean, and his feet on the southern ocean; secondly, a kind of grass, named Tyria, appeared to grow out of his navel and reach to the skies; thirdly, ants of a white appearance ascended from his feet to the knee and covered his legs; fourthly, birds of varied color and size appeared to come from all directions and fell at his feet, when on a sudden they all appeared white; fifthly, it seemed to him that he was walking on a mountain of filth, and passed over it without being in the least contaminated.

Phralaong, awaking from his sleep, said to himself, after having reflected for a while on those five dreams: "To-day I shall certainly become a Buddha." Thereupon he arose, washed his hands and face, put on his dress, and quietly

² The Burmese translator not having given in his remarks the explanation or interpretation of Phralaong's five dreams, it seems rather presumptuous to attempt doing a thing, the omission of which, on the part of the author, may be attributed either to voluntary omission or to incapacity and inability. Let us try to make up, in part, for the deficiency. The first dream prognosticated the future greatness of Phralaong, whose sway, by the diffusion of his doctrines throughout the world, was to be universal, extending from one sea to the other sea. The grass growing out of his navel and reaching to the sky was indicative of the spreading of his law, not only amongst the beings inhabiting the seat of men, but also amidst those dwelling in the abodes of Nats and Bráhmās. The ants covering his legs offer an enigma, the explanation of which is reserved to some future Œdipus. As to the birds of various colors gathering round him from the four points of the compass, and on a sudden becoming all white, by their contact with him, they represent the innumerable beings that will come to hear the preaching of the future Buddha with divers dispositions and different progress in the way of merits, and will all be perfected by their following the true way to merit that he will point out to them. The fifth dream in which Phralaong thought he was walking on a mountain of filth, without being in the least contaminated by it, foreshadowed the incomparable perfection and purity of Buddha, who, though remaining in the world of passions, was no more to be affected by their influence.

waited the break of day, to go out in quest of his food. The moment being arrived to go out, he took up his *patta* and walked in the direction of the Gnialong tree. The whole tree was made shining by the rays which issued from his person: he rested there a while. At that very moment, arrived Sounama to clear, according to her mistress' orders, the place for her offering. As she approached she saw Phralaong at the foot of the tree; the rays of light which beamed out of his person were reflected on the tree, which presented a most splendid and dazzling appearance. On observing this wonder, Sounama said to herself: "Of course the Nat has come down from the tree to receive the offering with his own hands." Overcome with an unutterable joy, she immediately ran to her mistress and related her adventure. Thudzata was delighted at this occurrence, and wishing to give a substantial proof of her gratitude for such good news, she said to Sounama: "From this moment you are no more my servant; I adopt you for my elder daughter." She immediately gave her all the ornaments suitable to her new position. It is customary with all the Phralaongs to be provided, on the day they are to become Buddha, with a gold cup of great value. Thudzata ordered a golden vessel to be brought, and poured therein the Nogana, or boiled milk. As the water glides from the leaf of the water-lily, without leaving thereon any trace, so the Nogana slid from the pot into the golden cup and filled it up. She covered this cup with another of the same precious metal, and wrapped up the whole with a white cloth. She forthwith put on her finest dress, and thus becomingly attired, she carried the golden cup over her head; and, with a decent gravity, walked toward the Gnialong tree. Overwhelmed with joy at seeing Phralaong, she reverentially advanced toward him, whom she mistook for a Nat. When near him she placed gently the golden vessel on the ground, and in a gold basin offered him scented water to wash his hands. At that moment the earthen *patta* offered to Phralaong by the brahmin Gatiakra, disappeared. Perceiving that his *patta* had disappeared he stretched forth his right hand and washed it in the scented

water; at the same time Thudzata presented to him the golden cup containing the Nogana. Having observed that she had caught the eyes of Phralaong, she said to him: "My Lord, Nat, I beg to offer you this food, together with the vessel that contains it." Having respectfully bowed down to him, she continued: "May your joy and happiness be as great as mine; may you always delight in the happiest rest, ever surrounded by a great and brilliant retinue." Making, then, the offering of the gold cup, worth 100,000 pieces of silver, with the same disinterestedness as if she had given over but the dry leaf of a tree, she withdrew and returned to her home with a heart overflowing with joy.

Phralaong rising up, took with him the golden cup, and having turned on the left of the Gniaong tree, went to the bank of the river Neritzara, to a place where more than 100,000 Buddhas had bathed, ere they obtained the supreme intelligence. On the banks of that river is a bathing-place. Having left on that spot his golden cup, he undressed himself and descended into the river. When he had bathed he came out and put on his yellow robe, which in shape and form resembled that of his predecessors. He sat down, his face turned toward the east; his face resembled in appearance a well-ripened palm-fruit. He divided his exquisite food into forty-nine mouthfuls, which he ate without mixing any water with it. During the forty-nine days he spent round the Bodi tree, Buddha never bathed, nor took any food, nor experienced the least want. His appearance and countenance remained unchanged; he spent the whole time absorbed, as it were, in an uninterrupted meditation. Holding up in his hands the empty golden vessel, Phralaong made the following prayer: "If, on this day, I am to become a Buddha, let this cup float on the water and ascend the stream." Whereupon he flung it in the stream, when, by the power and influence of Phralaong's former good works, the vessel gently gliding toward the middle of the river, and then, beating up the stream, ascended it with the swiftness of a horse to the distance of eighty cubits, when it stopped, sank into a whirlpool, went down to the country of

Naga, and made a noise, on coming in contact with, and striking against, the three vessels of the three last Buddhas, *viz.*: Kaukathan, Guanagong, and Kathaba. On hearing this unusual noise the chief of Nagas awoke from his sleep and said: "How is this? yesterday a Buddha appeared in the world, to-day again there is another." And in more than one hundred stanzas he sang praises to Buddha.

On the banks of the river Neritzara there is a grove of Sala trees, whither Phralaong repaired to spend the day under their cooling shade: in the evening he rose up and walked with the dignified and noble bearing of a lion, in a road eight *uthabas* wide, made by the Nats, and strewn with flowers, toward the Gniaong tree. The Nats, Nagas, and Galongs joined in singing praises to him, playing instruments, and making offerings of the finest flowers and most exquisite perfumes, brought from their own seats. Similar rejoicings took place in ten thousand other worlds. Whilst on his way toward the tree he met with a young man just returning with a load of grass he had cut in the fields. Foreseeing that Phralaong might require some portion of it for his use, he presented him with eight handfuls of grass, an offering which was willingly accepted.

Arrived close to the Gniaong tree,³ Phralaong stopped at

³ We have now reached the most interesting episode of Phralaong's life. He is to become a perfected Buddha under the shade of the Gniaong or banyan-tree. There are two circumstances attending that great event, deserving peculiar notice. The first is the preference given to the east over the three other points of the compass, and the second, the mighty combat that takes place between Phralaong and the wicked Nat Manh, or Mar. The contest is to take place between the good principle, on the one hand, and the evil one, on the other. Phralaong, on his becoming Buddha, will preach a law designed to dispel mental darkness, to check vicious passions, to show the right way to perfection, to unloose the ties that keep beings in the wretched state of existence, and enable them to reach safely the peaceful shores of Nirvana. Manh, the devil itself, the father of darkness, of lies and deceit, delights in seeing all beings plunged into the abyss of vices, carried out of the right way, by the impetuous and irresistible torrent of their passions, and doomed to turn, forever, in the whirlpool of endless existences. He looks upon himself as the king of this world, and proudly exults in contemplating all beings bending their neck

the south of the tree, his face turned toward the north, when on a sudden the southern point of the globe seemed to lower down to the hell Awidzi, the lowest of all, whilst the northern one appeared to reach the sky. Then he said: "Verily this is not the place where I shall become a Buddha." Thence Phralaong went on his right side toward the east of the tree, and standing up, his face turned toward the west, he said: "This is indeed the place, where all the preceding Buddhas have obtained the supreme intelligence. Here, too, is the very spot whereupon I shall become a Buddha and set up my throne." He took, by one of their extremities, the eight handfuls of grass and scattered them on the ground, when, on a sudden, there appeared emerging, as it were, from the bottom of the earth, a throne fourteen cubits high, adorned with the choicest sculptures and paintings, superior in perfection to all that art could produce. Phralaong, then, facing the east, uttered the following imprecation: "If I am not destined to become a Buddha, may my bones, veins, and skin remain on this throne, and my blood and flesh be dried up." He then ascended the throne, with his back turned against the tree, and his face toward the east. He sat down, in a cross-legged position, firmly resolved never to vacate the throne until he had become a Buddha. Such firmness of purpose, which the combined elements could not shake for a moment, excites our wonder and admiration.

Whilst Phralaong was sitting on the throne, in that cross-legged position, Manh Nat said to himself: "I will not suffer Prince Theiddat to overstep the boundaries of my empire." He summoned all his warriors and shouted to

under his tyrannical yoke, and acknowledging his undisputed power. Now the moment approaches when a mighty antagonist will contend with him for the empire of the world. His mission will be to labor incessantly for the delivery of all beings from the grasp of their mortal enemy, and set them free from the tyranny of passions. Manh is enraged at the audacious pretensions of Phralaong: hence the gigantic efforts he makes to maintain his rights and retain possession of his empire. It is needless to add that the reader, in perusing the detailed account of the attack of Manh against Phralaong, ought to bear in mind that it exhibits throughout but an allegory of the opposition of evil to good.

them. On hearing their chief's voice the warriors gathered thick round his person. His countless followers in front, on his right and on his left, reached to the distance of eighteen *youdzanas*, and above him to that of nine only. Behind him they extended to the very limits of the world. The cries of that immense multitude were re-echoed at a distance of 10,000 *youdzanas*, and resembled the roaring of the mighty sea. Manh Nat rode the elephant Girimegala, measuring in length 5 *youdzanas*. Supplied with one thousand right arms, he wielded all sorts of the most deadly weapons. His countless warriors, to avoid confusion, were all disposed in ranks, bearing their respective armor. They appeared like immense clouds, slowly rolling on and converging toward Phralaong.

At that time Nats surrounded Phralaong, singing praises to him; the chief Thagia was playing on his conque, whereof a single blowing resounds for four entire months; the chief Naga was uttering stanzas in his honor; a chief brahmin held over him the white umbrella. On the approach of Manh Nat's army, they were all seized with an uncontrollable fear, and fled to their respective places. The Naga dived into the bottom of the earth, at a depth of 500 *youdzanas*, and, covering his face with his two wings, fell into a deep sleep. The Thagia, swinging his conque upon his shoulders, ran to the extremity of the world. The brahmin, holding still the umbrella by the extremity of the handle, went up to his own country. Phralaong was, therefore, left alone. Manh Nat, turning to his followers, cried to them: "There is, indeed, no one equal to the Prince Theiddat; let us not attack him in front, but let us assail him from the north side."

On that moment Phralaong lifting his eyes, looked on his right, left, and front, for the crowd of Nats, brahmin and Thagias, that had been paying him their respects. But they had all disappeared. He saw the army of Manh Nat coming thick upon him, from the north, like a mighty storm. "What!" said he, "is it against me alone that such a countless crowd of warriors has been assembled? I have no one to help me, no father, no brothers, no sisters, no friends,

and no relatives. But I have with me the ten great virtues which I have practised; the merits I have acquired in the practise of these virtues will be my safeguard and protection; these are my offensive and defensive weapons, and with them I will crush down the great army of Manh!" Whereupon he quietly remained meditating upon the merits of the ten great virtues.

Whilst Phralaong was thus absorbed in meditation, Manh Nat began his attack upon him. He caused a wind to blow with such an extraordinary violence that it brought down the tops of mountains, though they were one or two *youdzanas* thick. The trees of the forests were shattered to atoms. But the virtue of Phralaong's merits preserved him from the destructive storm. Even his *tsiwaran* itself was not disturbed. Perceiving that his first effort was useless, Manh caused a heavy rain to fall with such violence that it tore the earth and opened it to its very bottom. But not even a single drop touched Phralaong's person. Then succeeded a shower of rocks, accompanied with smoke and fire; but they were changed into immense masses of flowers, which dropped at Buddha's feet. There came afterward another shower of swords, knives, and all kinds of cutting weapons emitting smoke and fire. They all fell powerless at the feet of Phralaong. A storm of burning ashes and sand soon darkened the atmosphere, but they fell in front of him, like fragrant dust. Clouds of mud succeeded, which fell like perfumes all round and over Phralaong. Manh caused a thick darkness to fill the atmosphere, but to Phralaong it emitted rays of the purest light. The enraged Manh cried to his followers: "Why do you stand looking on? Rush at once upon him and compel him to flee before me." Sitting on his huge elephant and brandishing his formidable weapons, Manh approached close to Phralaong and said to him: "Theiddat, this throne is not made for you; vacate it forthwith — it is my property." Phralaong calmly answered: "You have not as yet practised the ten great virtues, nor gone through the five acts of self-denial; you have never devoted your life to help others to acquire merits; in a word,

you have not yet done all that is needful to enable you to obtain the supreme dignity of Phra. This throne, therefore, can not be yours." Unable to control any longer his passion, Manh threw his formidable weapons at Phralaong; but they were converted into garlands of beautiful flowers that adapted themselves gracefully round his body. His sword and other weapons, that could cut at once through the hardest rocks, were employed with no better success. The soldiers of Manh, hoping that their united efforts would have a better result, and that they could thrust Phralaong from his throne, made a sudden, simultaneous rush at him, rolling against him with an irresistible force huge rocks as large as mountains; but by the virtues of their opponent's merits they were converted into fine nosegays that gently dropped at his feet.

At that time, the Nats, from their seats, looked down on the scene of the combat, suspended between hope and fear. Phralaong, at that moment, said to Manh: "How do you dare to pretend to the possession of this throne? Could you ever prove, by indisputable evidence, that you have ever made offerings enough to be deserving of this throne?" Manh, turning to his followers, answered: "Here are my witnesses; they all will bear evidence in my favor." At the same moment they all shouted aloud to testify their approval of Manh's words. "As to you, Prince Theiddat, where are the witnesses that will bear evidence in your favor and prove the justness of your claim to the possession of this throne?" Phralaong replied: "My witnesses are not like yours, men, or any living beings.⁴ The earth itself will give testimony to me. For, without alluding even to those offerings I have made during several previous existences, I will but mention the forty-seven great ones I made whilst I lived as Prince Wethandra." Stretching out his right hand, which he had hitherto kept under the folds of his garment, and pointing

⁴ The witness whom Phralaong summoned in support of his claim to the undisturbed possession of the throne was the earth itself. It may be from the example that was set on this occasion that Buddhists have borrowed the habit of calling the earth as a witness of the good works they have done or are about doing.

to the earth, he said with a firm voice: "Earth, is it not true that at the time I was Prince Wethandra I made forty great offerings?" The earth replied with a deep and loud roaring, resounding in the midst of Manh's legions like the sound of countless voices threatening to spread death and destruction in their ranks. The famous charger of Manh bent his knees and paid homage to Phralaong. Manh, himself disheartened and discomfited, fled to the country of Wathawatti. His followers were so overpowered by fear that they flung away all belongings that might impede their retreat, and ran away in every direction. Such were the confusion and disorder that prevailed that two warriors could not be seen following the same course, in their flight.

Looking from their seats on the defeat of Manh and the glorious victory of Phralaong, the Nats⁵ rent the air with shouts of exultation. The brahmin, Nagas, and Galongs joined the Nats in celebrating his triumph over his enemies. They all hastened from more than ten thousand worlds, to pay their respects and offer their felicitations, presenting him with flowers and perfumes, saying: "Victory and glory to Phralaong! Shame and defeat to the infamous Manh!"

It was a little while before sunset that Phralaong had achieved his splendid victory over his proud foe. At that time he was wrapped up, as it were, in the profoundest meditation. The extremities of the branches of the Bodi tree⁶

⁵ As the Nats and all other beings are to be benefited by the preachings of Buddha, it is but natural that they all join in singing his praises and exalting his glorious achievements. The Nagas and Galongs are fabulous animals, which are often mentioned in the course of this legend. It has been observed in a former note that, according to the Buddhistic notions, animals are beings in a state of punishment, differing from man, not in nature, but in merits. Some of them, having nearly exhausted the sum of their demerits, begin to feel the influence of former merits. They are supposed to have to a certain extent the use of reason. No wonder, then, if they rejoice at seeing the triumph of him who is to help them in advancing toward a condition better than their present one!

⁶ The banyan-tree at the foot of which Phralaong obtains perfect intelligence is occasionally called throughout this narrative, "Bodi-tree." The word *Bodhi* means wisdom, science, or knowledge. The Burmese in their sacred writings always mention the tree by that name because, under its shade, perfect science was communicated to Phralaong.

fell gently over him, and, by their undulations, seemed to caress, as it were, his *tsiwaran*: they resembled so many beautiful nosegays of red flowers that were offered to him. At the first watch of the night Phralaong applied all the energies of his powerful mind to ascertain the laws of the causes and effects, in order to account for all that is in existence. He argued in the following manner: "Pain and all sorts of miseries do exist in this world. Why do they exist? Because there is birth: Why is there birth? Because there is conception. Now conception does take place, because there is existence, or that moral state produced by the action or influence of merits and demerits. Existence is brought in, by *Upadan*, or the combining of affections calculated to cause the coming into existence. The latter has for its cause the desire. The desire is produced by sensation. The latter is caused by the contact. The contact takes place, because there are the six senses. The six senses do exist, because there are name and form, that is to say, the exterior sign of the ideal being, and the type of the real being. Name and form owe their existence to erroneous knowledge; the latter in its turn is produced by the imagination, which has, for its cause, ignorance."

Having followed in his mind the succession of the twelve causes and effects, and reached the last link of that chain, Phralaong said to himself: "Ignorance, or no science, is the first cause which gives rise to all the phenomena I have successively reviewed. From it spring the world and all the

It is supposed to occupy the very center of the Island of Dzampudiba. During all the while Phra, or Buddha (let us call him now by that name), remained under that tree his mind was engaged in the most profound meditation, which the gigantic efforts of his enemy could scarcely interrupt. It is not to be inferred from the narrative in the text that supreme intelligence was communicated suddenly or by miraculous process to our Buddha. He was already prepared, by former mental labors, to that grand result; he had previously capacitated himself by studies and reflection for the reception of that more than human science; he required but a last and mighty effort of his intelligence to arrive finally at the acme of knowledge and thereby to become a perfect Buddha. That last effort was made on this occasion, and crowned with the most complete success. He gained the science of the past, present, and future.

beings it contains. It is the cause of that universal illusion in which man and all beings are miserably lulled. By what means can this ignorance be done away with? Doubtless by knowledge and true science. By means of the light that science spreads I clearly see the unreality of all that exists, and I am freed from that illusion which makes other beings to believe that such thing exists, when, in reality, it does not exist. The imagination, or the faculty to imagine the existence of things which do not exist, is done away with. The same fate is reserved to the false knowledge resulting therefrom, to the name and form, to the six senses, to contact, to sensation, to desire, to conception, to existence, to birth and to pain, or miseries."

Then Phralaong said to himself: "The knowledge of the four great truths is the true light that can dispel ignorance and procure the real science whereby the coming out from the whirlpool of existences, or from the state of illusion, can be perfectly effected. These four truths are: (1) the miseries of the existence; (2) the cause productive of misery, which is the desire ever renewed of satisfying one's self, without being able ever to secure that end; (3) the destruction of that desire, or the estranging one's self from, is the important matter deserving the most serious attention: (4) the means of obtaining the individual annihilation of that desire is supplied solely by the four Meggas, or highways leading to perfection. But these Meggas can be followed but by those who have a right intention, a right will, and who, throughout life, exert themselves to regulate their action, conduct, language, thought, and meditations." It was then that the heart of Phralaong acquired an unshakable firmness, a perfect purity or exemption from all passions, an unalterable meekness, and a strong feeling of tender compassion toward all beings.

When these fundamental truths had been known, felt, and relished, Phralaong's mind, casting a glance over the past, was able to discover at once all that had taken place during the countless states of his former existences. He

recollected the name he had borne, those of his parents, of the places he had seen and visited, of the caste he had belonged to, and all the chief events that had marked the course of his progress through the continual migrations. He likewise saw reflected, as in a mirror, the former conditions of existence of all other beings. The immense development and expansion of his mind, which enabled him to fathom the depth of the past, were realized during the first watch of the night.

He now applied all the expanded powers of his incomparable mind to take a correct survey of all the beings now in existence. He considered all those that were in hell and the other three states of punishment, those living on earth, and those dwelling in the twenty-six superior seats. He, at once, understood distinctly their state, condition, merits, demerits, and all that appertained to their physical and moral constitutive parts. This labor occupied his mind up to midnight.

Urged by the merciful and compassionate dispositions of his soul, Phralaong often revolved within himself the following: "All is misery and affliction in this world: all beings are miserably detained in the vortex of existences: they float over the whirlpool of desire and concupiscence; they are carried to and fro by the fallacious cravings of a never-obtained satisfaction. They must be taught to put an end to concupiscence by freeing themselves from its influence. Their mind must be imbued with the knowledge of the four great truths. The four ways that I have discovered shall inevitably lead men and Nats to that most desirable end. Those ways ought to be pointed out to them, that, by following them, men and Nats may obtain deliverance."

Whilst these thoughts thronged over his mind, a little before break of day, in the 103rd year of the Eetzana era, on the day of the full moon of Katson, the perfect science broke, at once, over him: he became the Buddha.

When this great wonder took place ten thousand worlds were shaken twelve times, and with such violence as to make hairs stand on end. The words "Most excellent being"

were heard throughout the same series of worlds. Magnificent ornaments decorated all places. Flagstuffs appeared in every direction, adorned with splendid streamers. Of such dimensions were they that the extremities of those in the east reached the opposite side of the west; and those in the north, the southern boundary. Some flags hanging from the seats of brahmins reached the surface of the earth. All the trees of ten thousand worlds shot out branches loaded with fruits and flowers. The five sorts of lilies bloomed spontaneously. From the clefts of rocks beautiful flowers blossomed. The whole universe appeared like an immense garden, covered with flowers; a vivid light illuminated those places, the darkness of which could not be dispersed by the united rays of seven suns. The water which fills the immensity of the deep, at a depth of eighty-four thousand *yodzanas* became fresh and offered a most agreeable drink. Rivers suspended their course; the blind recovered their sight; the deaf could hear, and the lame were able to walk freely. The captives were freed from their chains and restored to their liberty. Innumerable other wonders took place at the moment Phralaong received the supreme intelligence. He said then to himself: "Previous to my obtaining the supreme knowledge, I have, during countless generations, moved in the circle of ever-renewed existences and borne misery. Now I see this distinctly. Again I perceive how I can emancipate myself from the trammels of existence, and extricate myself from all miseries and wretchedness attending generation; my will is fixed on the most amiable state of Nirvana. I have now arrived to that state of perfection that excludes all passions.

It was at the full moon of the month Katson that those memorable occurrences took place, and it was daylight when Phralaong had at last obtained the fulness of the Buddhaship. After this glorious and triumphant achievement, Phralaong, who, from this moment, we must call Phra or Buddha, continued to remain on the throne, in a cross-legged position, with a mind absorbed into contemplation, during seven days. Mental exertion and labor were at an end. Truth, in its

effulgent beauty, encompassed his mind and shed over it the purest rays. Placed in that luminous center, Phra saw all beings entangled in the web of passions, tossed over the raging billows of the sea of renewed existences, whirling into the vortex of endless miseries, tormented incessantly and wounded to the quick by the sting of concupiscence; sunk into the dark abyss of ignorance, the wretched victims of an illusory, unsubstantial, and unreal world. He said, then, to himself: "In all the worlds there is no one but I, who know how to break through the web of passions, to still the waves that waft beings from one state into another, to save them from the whirlpool of miseries, to put an end to concupiscence and break its sting, to dispel the mist of ignorance by the light of truth, to teach all intelligent beings the unreality and non-existence of this world, and thereby lead them to the true state of Nirvana. Having thus given vent to the feelings of compassion that pressed on his benevolent heart, Phra, glancing over future events, took delight in contemplating the great number of beings who would avail themselves of his preachings, and labor to free themselves from the slavery of passions. He counted the multitudes who would enter the ways that lead to deliverance, and would obtain the rewards to be enjoyed by those who will follow one of those ways. The Baranthee country would be favored, first of all, with the preaching of the law of the wheel. He reviewed the countries where his religion would be firmly established. He saw that Maheinda, the son of King Asoka, would carry his law to Ceylon 236 years after his Nirvana.

When these and other subjects were fully exhausted, the most excellent Phra came down from his throne and proceeded to a distance of ten fathoms from the Bodi-tree, in a northeast direction. There he stood, his eyes fixedly riveted on the throne, without a single wink, during seven consecutive days, given up to the most intense and undisturbed meditation. The Nats, observing this extraordinary posture, imagined that he regretted vacating the throne and that he wanted to repossess himself of it. They concluded that such being the case Prince Theiddat had not as yet obtained the

Buddaship. When the period of seven days was over, Buddha, who knew the innermost thoughts of the Nats, resolved to put an end to their incredulous thinking respecting his person. For that purpose he had recourse to a display of miraculous powers. He raised himself high up in the air, and, to their astonishment, he wrought at once more than a thousand wonders, which had the immediate effect of silencing all their doubts, and convincing them that he was indeed the Buddha.

Having descended to the place he had started from, for the display of prodigies, Buddha went to the north of the tree Bodi, at a distance of but two fathoms from it. He spent this time in walking to and fro, from east to west, during seven days, over a road prepared for that purpose by the Nats. He was engaged, all the while, in the work of the sublimest contemplation.

He then shaped his course in a northwest direction. At a distance of thirteen fathoms from the sacred tree there stood a beautiful house, shining like gold, resplendent with precious stones. It was a temporary residence expressly prepared for him by the Nats. Thither he repaired and sat down in a cross-legged position, during seven days. He devoted all his time to meditating on the Abidamma, or the most excellent science. This science is divided into seven books. Phra had already gone over the six first and fully mastered their contents, but the six glories had not, as yet, darted forth from his person.

It was only after having mastered the contents of the last division, named Pathan, divided into twenty-four parts, that the six glories appeared. Like the great fishes that delight to sport in the great ocean, the mind of Buddha expanded itself with indescribable eagerness, and delighted to run, unrestrained, through the unbounded field opened before him, by the contents of that volume. Brown rays issued from his hairs, beard, and eyelids. Gold-like rays shot forth from his eyes and skin; from his flesh and blood dashed out purple beams, and from his teeth and bones escaped rays, white like the leaves of the lily; from his hands

and feet emanated rays of a deep red color, which, falling on the surrounding objects, made them appear like so many rubies of the purest water. His forehead sent forth undulating rays, resembling those reflected by cut crystal. The objects which received those rays appeared as mirrors reflecting the rays of the sun. Those six rays of various hues caused the earth to resemble a globe of the finest gold. Those beams at first penetrated through our globe, which is 82,000 *youdzanas* thick, and thence illuminated the mass of water which supports our planet. It resembled a sea of gold. That body of water, though 480,000 *youdzanas* thick, could not stop the elastic projection of those rays, which went forth through a stratum of air 960,000 *youdzanas* thick, and were lost in the vacuum. Some beams, following a vertical direction, rushed through the six seats of Nats, and sixteen of brahmins, and the four superior ones, and thence were lost in vacuum. Other rays following an horizontal direction, penetrated through an infinite series of worlds. The sun, the moon, the stars, appeared like opaque bodies, deprived of light. The famous garden of Nats, their splendid palace, the ornaments hanging from the tree Padetha, were all cast into the shade and appeared obscure, as if wrapped in complete darkness. The body of the chief brahmin, which sends forth light through one million of systems, emitted, then, but the feeble and uncertain light of the glowworm at sunrise. This marvelous light emanating from the person of Buddha was not the result of vowing or praying; but all the constituent parts of his body became purified to such an extent, by the sublime meditation of the most excellent law, that they shone with a matchless brightness.

Having thus spent seven days in that place, close to the Bodi tree, he repaired to the foot of another Gniaong tree, called Atzapala, or the shepherds' tree, so called, because, under its cooling shade, shepherds and their flocks of goats rested during the heat of the day. It was situated at the east of the Bodi, at a distance of thirty fathoms. There he sat in a cross-legged position, during seven days, enjoying the sweetness of self-recollection. It was near that place that

the vile Manh, who since his great attack on Buddha had never lost sight of him but had always secretly followed him with a wicked spirit, was compelled to confess that he had not been able to discover in that Rahan anything blamable, and expressed the fear of seeing him at once pass over the boundaries of his empire. The tempter stooped in the middle of the highway, and across it drew successively sixteen lines, as he went on reflecting on sixteen different subjects. When he had thought over each of the ten great virtues, he drew, first, ten lines, saying: "The great Rahan has indeed practised, to a high degree, those ten virtues. I can not presume to compare myself to him." In drawing the eleventh, he confessed that he had not, like that Rahan, the science that enabled one to know the inclinations and dispositions of all beings. In drawing the twelfth, he said that he had not as yet acquired the knowledge of all that concerns the nature of the various beings. Drawing the four remaining lines, he confessed successively that he did not feel, like that Rahan, a tender compassion for the beings yet entangled in the miseries of existence, nor could he perform miracles, nor perceive everything, nor attain to the perfect and supreme knowledge of the law. On all these subjects he avowed his decided inferiority to the great Rahan.

Whilst Manh was thus engaged, with a sad heart, in meditating over his self-confessed humiliation, he was at last found by his three daughters Tahna,⁷ Aratee, and Raga, who had been for some time looking after him. When they saw their father with a downcast countenance they came to him and

⁷The great tempter had been foiled in all his attempts to conquer Buddha: in the sadness of his heart he was compelled to acknowledge the superiority of his opponent and confess his defeat. His three daughters came to console him, promising that they would, by their united efforts, overcome the firmness of the great Rahan, by awakening in his heart the fire of concupiscence. The names of those three daughters of Manh mean "concupiscence." Those new enemies of Buddha are mere personifications of the passion of lust. Pride, personified in Manh, had proved powerless against the virtue of Buddha; he is now assailed from a different quarter; the attack is to be directed against the weakest side of human nature. But it is as unsuccessful as the former one: it affords to Buddha another occasion for a fresh triumph.

inquired about the motive of his sorrow. "Beloved daughters," replied Manh, "I see this Rahan escaping from my dominion, and notwithstanding my searching examination I have not been able to detect in him anything reprehensible. This is the only cause of my inexpressible affliction." "Dear father," replied they, "banish all sorrows from your mind, and be of good heart — we will, very soon, have found out the weak side of the great Rahan, and triumphantly bring him back within the hitherto unpassed limits of your empire." "Beware of the man you will have to deal with," replied Manh. "I believe that no effort, however great, directed against him, shall ever be rewarded with success. He is of firm mind and unshaken purpose. I fear you can never succeed in bringing him back within my dominions." "Dear father," said they, "we women know how to manage such affairs; we will catch him like a bird, in the net of concupiscence — let fear and anxiety be forever dispelled from your heart." Having given this assurance, forthwith they went to Buddha and said to him: "Illustrious Rahan, we approach you respectfully and express the wish of staying with you, that we might minister to all your wants." Without heeding in the least their words, nor even casting a glance at them, the most excellent Buddha remained unmoved, enjoying the happiness of meditation. Knowing that the same appearance, face, and bodily accomplishments may not be equally pleasing, they assumed, the one, the appearance of a heart-winning young girl, the other, that of a blooming virgin, and the third, that of a fine, middle-aged beauty. Having thus made their arrangements, they approached Buddha, and several times expressed to him the desire of staying with him and ministering to all his wants. Unmoved by all their allurements, Buddha said to them: "For what purpose do you come to me? You might have some chance of success with those that have not as yet extinguished in, and rooted from, their heart the various passions; but I, like all the Buddhas, my predecessors, have destroyed in me, concupiscence, passion, and ignorance. No effort on your part will ever be able to bring me back into the world of passions. I

am free from all passions and have obtained supreme wisdom. By what possible means could you ever succeed in bringing me back into the whirlpool of passions?" The three daughters of Manh, covered with confusion, yet overawed with admiration and astonishment, said to each other: "Our father, forsooth, had given us a good and wise warning. This great Rahan deserves the praises of men and Nats. Everything in him is perfect: to him it belongs to instruct men in all things they want to know." Saying this, they, with downcast countenances, returned to their father.

It was in that very place, at the foot of the Adzapala Gniaong, that a heretic Pounha, named Mingalika, proud of his caste, came with hasty steps, speaking loudly. With little respect he approached the spot where Buddha was sitting. Having entered into conversation with him, the Pounha heard from his mouth instructions worthy of being ever remembered. He said to Buddha: "Lord Gotama, I have two questions to put to you: whence comes the name Pounha? What are the duties to be performed in order to become a real Pounha?" Buddha, penetrating with the keen eye of wisdom into the innermost soul of his interlocutor, answered: "The real and genuine Pounha is he who has renounced all passions, put an end to concupiscence, and has entered the ways leading to perfection. But there are others, who are proud of their origin, who walk hastily, speak with a loud voice, and who have not done the needful to destroy the influence of passions. These are called Pounhas, because of their caste and birth. But the true sage avoids everything that is rash, impetuous, or noisy: he has conquered all his passions, and put an end to the principle of demerits. His heart loves the repetition of formulas of prayers, and delights in the exercise of meditation. He has reached the last way to perfection. In him there is no longer wavering, nor doubt, nor pride. This man really deserves the name of Pounha, or pure: he is indeed the true Pounha according to the law." The instruction being finished, the Pounha rose respectfully from his place, wheeled on the right, and departed.

Buddha continued the sublime work of contemplating pure truth through the means of intense reflection. Having remained seven days in that position, and arising from ecstacy, Buddha went to the southeastern direction of the Bodi tree, at a distance of an *uthaba*,^s on the 6th day after the full moon of Nayon. At that place there was a tank called Hidza-lee-dana. On the bank of that tank he sat under the shade of the Kiin tree, in a cross-legged position, during seven days, enjoying the delight of meditation. During those seven days rain fell in abundance, and it was very cold. A Naga, chief of that tank, could have made a building to protect Buddha against the inclemency of the weather, but he preferred, in order to gain greater merits, to coil himself up, to seven folds, round his person, and above him to place his head with his large hood extended. When the seven days were over, and the rain had ceased, the Naga quitted his position; then assuming the appearance of a young man, he prostrated before Buddha and worshiped him. Buddha said: "He who aims at obtaining the state of Nirvana ought to possess the knowledge of the four roads leading thereto, as well as that of the four great truths, and of all laws. He ought to bear no anger toward other men, nor harm them in any way soever. Happy he who receives such instructions."

Buddha moved from that place and went to the south of the Bodi tree, a distance of forty fathoms. At the foot of the Linloon tree he sat in a cross-legged position, having his mind deeply engaged in the exercise of the sublimest contemplation. In that position he spent seven entire days, which completed the forty-nine days which were to be devoted to reflection and meditation. When this period of days was over, at daybreak, on the fifth day after the full moon of Watso, he felt the want of food. This was quickly perceived by a Thagia, who hastened from his seat to the spot where Buddha was, and offered him some *Thit khia* fruits (others say, *Kia-dzoo* fruits), to prepare his system to receive a more substantial food. After he had eaten them, the same celestial

^s One *uthaba* equals 20 *tas*, a *ta* equaling 7 cubits.

attendant brought him water to rinse his mouth and to wash his face and hands. Buddha continued to remain in the same position, under the cooling and protecting shade of the Linloon tree.

To consecrate, as it were, and perpetuate the remembrance of the seven spots occupied by Buddha during the forty-nine days that he spent round the tree Bodi, one Dzedi was erected on each of those seven places. King Pathanadi Kosala surrounded them with a double wall. Subsequently, King Dammathoka added two others. There were only three openings, or gates, leading into the enclosed ground, one at the north, the second at the east, and the third at the south. The river Neritzara rolls its deep blue waters in a south-eastern direction from the Bodi tree, at a distance of eight *uthabas* from it. On the eastern bank of that stream another Dzedi has been erected on the spot, where, previous to his becoming a Buddha, he had eaten the forty-nine mouthfuls of the delicious Nogana offered to him by the pious Thudzata.

While Buddha was sitting in a cross-legged position, under the Linloon tree, two brothers named Tapusa and Palekat, merchants by profession, arrived with five hundred carts, into the Urouwela forest, at the very place where Buddha was staying. They had sailed from their native town, called Oukkalaba,⁹ which lies, from the Mitzima coun-

⁹ The episode of these two merchants is well known to the inhabitants of the Irawaddy valley. In three different manuscripts that the writer has had in his hands he has found it related with almost the same particulars. Oukkalaba, the place the two young men started from, was situated probably on the same spot now occupied by the village of Twaintay, or not far from it. How far that place was from the sea in those remote times, it is not possible to ascertain now with precision. Certain it is that it was a port from which vessels sailed across the bay of Bengal. The port of Eedzeitha has not, as yet, been identified with any known locality. It was situated, in all probability, between the mouth of the Krichna and that of the Hoogly. One of the manuscripts mentions that when Gotama handed over, to the two merchants, eight hairs of his head, he bade them, on their arrival into their country, to deposit the hairs on a small hill called Seingouttara, where the relics of the three former Buddhas of our period had been enshrined. They were 27 days in reaching Maudin, or Cape Negrais; rather a long voyage. Having come to their own place they related to the Governor all the particulars of their inter-

try, in a southeastern direction, bound to the port of Adzeitta. After landing, they hired five hundred carts to carry their goods to a place called Suwama. They were on their way to their destination when they reached the Urouwela forest. Not little was their surprise when they suddenly realized their carts were unable to move, as if arrested by some invisible power.

A Nat who had been formerly their relative stopped, by his power, the wheels of the carriages. Surprised at such a wonder, the merchants prayed to the Nat guardian of that place. The Nat, assuming a visible shape, appeared before them and said to them: "The illustrious Buddha who, by the knowledge of the four great truths, has arrived to the nature of Phra, is now sitting at the foot of the Linloon tree; go now to that place, and offer him some sweet bread and honey; you shall derive therefrom great merits for many days and nights to come." The two brothers, joyfully complying with the Nat's request, prepared the sweet bread and honey, and hastened in the direction that had been indicated to them. Having placed themselves in a respectful position and prostrated before Buddha, they said: "Most glorious Phra, please to accept these offerings; great merits, doubtless, will be our reward for many days to come." Buddha had no

esting journey. The latter, without loss of time, assembled the people and set out in search of the Seingouttara mount. All the eminences were cleared of their brush, but the mount could not be discovered. Not knowing what to do, they consulted the Nats. At last, through their assistance, the mount was found. But when they inquired about the place of the relics of the three former Buddhas, the Nats of Yesapan, Inandra, and Gauveinda, confessed that they knew nothing on the subject, but referred the inquirers to other Nats older than they, *viz.*: those of Deckina, Yauhani, Maubee, Ameisa, and Tsulav, who at once pointed out the spot they were so eagerly searching for. This spot is no other than the one over which stands and towers the lofty and massive Shoay Dagon. They erected a Dzedy, in which they enshrined the relics they had brought with them, the eight hairs of Buddha. This story is, doubtless, the foundation on which rests the popular belief, that those very hairs are, up to this day, in the interior of that monument, and the true source from which has originated the profound veneration which, in our own days, Buddhists from all parts of Burma, Siam, and the Shan States pay, by their pilgrimages and offerings, to the Dagon Pagoda.

patta to put those offerings in, for the one he had received from the brahmin Gatigara had disappeared, when Thudzata made him her great offerings. Whilst he was thinking on what he had to do, four Nats came and presented him, each one *patta*, made of *nila*, or sapphire stone. Phra accepted the four *pattas*, not from motives of covetousness, but to let each Nat have an equal share in such meritorious work. He put the four *pattas*, one in the other, and by the power of his will, they, on a sudden, became but one *patta*, so that each Nat lost nothing of the merit of his offerings. Buddha received the offerings of the two merchants in that *patta*, and satisfied his appetite. The two brothers said to 'Buddha: "We have on this day approached you, worshiped you, and respectfully listened to your instructions—please to consider us as your devoted followers for the remainder of our life." They obtained the position of Upasaka.¹⁰ They continued addressing Buddha and said: what shall we henceforth worship? Buddha, rubbing his hand over his head, gave them a few of his hairs that had adhered to his fingers, bidding them to keep carefully those relics. The two brothers, overjoyed at such a valuable present, most respectfully received it, prostrated before Buddha, and departed.

¹⁰ *Upasaka* is a Pali word which is designed to mean those persons who, having heard the instructions of Buddha, and professed a faith or belief in him and his doctrines, did not enter the profession of Rahans. Hence they are quite distinct from the bhikkus, or mendicants, who formed the first class of the hearers of Buddha, and renounced the world, in imitation of their great master. The *Upasakas* were therefore people adhering to the doctrines of Buddha, but as yet remaining engaged in the ordinary pursuits of life. The two brothers became disciples of Buddha, but not of the first class, since they did not embrace the more perfect mode of life of the ascetics.

In this legend is the first instance of an allusion being made to relics, that is to say, to objects supposed to be surrounded with a certain degree of sacredness, and esteemed, on that account, to be worthy of receiving from devotees respect and veneration. The two young converts, not as yet confirmed in the new faith they had embraced, thought they wanted some exterior object to which they might hereafter direct their homage, and offer their respects. They were, as yet, far from being acquainted with the sublime science of their eminent teacher who, disregarding matter and all its modifications, could not but feel quite

CHAPTER VI

Having come to the end of his great meditations,¹ Buddha left this spot and returned to the place called Adzapala, where he revolved the following subject in his mind. "The knowledge," said he, "of the law and of the four great truths, which I alone possess, is very hard to be had. The law is deep; it is difficult to know and understand, it is very sublime, and can be comprehended only by the means of earnest meditation. It is sweet, filling the soul with joy, and accessible but to the wise. Now all beings are sunk very low by the influence of the five great passions; they can not free themselves from their baneful operation, which is the source of all mutability. But the law of mutability is the opposite of the law of Nirvana or rest. This law is hard to be under-

indifferent respecting the pretended value of relics, even of the most sacred character.

¹ I have, except on one occasion, always made use of the terms "meditation" and "contemplation" to express the inward working of Buddha's mind during the forty-nine days he spent at the foot of the banyan-tree. But the Burmese translator commonly employs a much stronger expression, conveying the idea of "trance" and "ecstasy." Hence after having remained seven days on the same spot, deeply engaged in considering parts of the law he was soon to preach, it is said of him that he comes out from a "state of perfect ecstasy." This expression implies a state of complete mental abstraction, when the soul, disentangled from the trammels of senses, raises itself above this material world, contemplates pure truth and delights in it. All her faculties are taken up with the beauty and perfection of truth; she clings to it with all her might, regardless of all the illusions this world is filled with. This situation of the soul is much esteemed by all fervent Buddhists. It is the lot of but a few privileged Rahans, who have made great progress in perfection, and obtained an almost entire mastery over their passions and senses. This great gift is, as one may well imagine, ardently coveted by many, who, though not possessing it, lay claim to it on false pretense. This being a sin devotees who relish a contemplative life are very liable to, the framer of the regulations of the Buddhist monks has pronounced excluded *de facto* from the society all those who would falsely claim the possession of uncommon spiritual attainments which they have not. In the book of ordination, used for the admission of candidates to the order of Rahans or Talapoins, this sin is the last of the four offenses which deprive of his dignity a member of the order and causes his expulsion from the society.

stood. If I ever preach that law, beings will not be able to understand me, and from my preaching there will result but a useless fatigue and unprofitable weariness." Buddha thus remained disinclined to undertake the great duty of preaching the law.

The great brahmin observing what was taking place in Buddha's soul, cried out: "Alas! all mankind are doomed to be lost. He who deserves to be worshiped by all beings now feels no disposition to announce the law to them." He instantly left his seat, and having repaired to the presence of Phra, his cloak over his shoulders, its extremity hanging behind, he bent his knee, lifted up joined hands to his forehead, before the sage, and said to him: "Most illustrious Buddha, who is adorned with the six glories, do condescend to preach the most excellent law; the number of those buried under the weight and filth of passions is comparatively small; if they do not listen to the law there will be no great loss. But there is an immense number of beings who will understand the law. In this world there are beings who are moderately given up to the gratification of sensual appetites; and there are also a great many who are following heretical opinions, to whom the knowledge of truth is necessary, and who will easily come to it. Lay now open the way that leads to the perfection of Arihas; those perfections are the gates to Nirvana." Thus he entreated Buddha. This brahmin had been, in the time of Buddha Kathaba, a Rahan under the name of Thabaka, and was transferred to the first seat of Bráhmâ for the duration of a world.

On hearing the supplications of that brahmin, Buddha began to feel a tender compassion for all beings. With the keen eyes of a Buddha he glanced over the whole world. He discovered distinctly those beings who were as yet completely sunk into the filth of passions; those who were but partly under the control of passions, and those whose dispositions seemed to be more promising. He then made to the chief of brahmins the solemn promise that he would preach his law to all beings. Satisfied with the answer he had received, the chief rose up, withdrew respectfully to a proper distance and,

turning on the right, left the presence of Buddha and returned to his own seat.

Another thought preoccupied the mind of Buddha. "To whom," said he, "shall I announce the law?" Having pondered awhile over this subject, he added: "The Rathee Alara of the Kalama race is gifted with wisdom and an uncommonly penetrating mind; passions have scarcely any influence over him. I will first preach to him the most excellent law." A Nat said then to Phra that Alara had died seven days ago. Buddha, to whom the past is known, had already seen that Alara was dead. He said: "Great, indeed, is the loss Alara has met with; he would have doubtless been able to understand rightly well the law I intended to preach to him. To whom shall I go now?" Having paused awhile, he added: "The Rathee Udaka, son of Prince Rama, has a quick perception; he will easily understand my doctrine; to him I will announce the law." But the same Nat told him that Udaka had died the night before last, at midnight. "Oh! great is the loss that has come upon Udaka; he would have easily acquired the knowledge of the perfect law." Buddha considered a third time, and said to himself, "To whom shall I go to preach the law?" After a moment's delay, he added: "Many are the services I received in the wilderness from the five Rahans who lived with me.² I will repay their good offices to me by preaching to them the law,

² The five Rahans alluded to are the very same individuals who met Phralaong in the solitude at the time he was undergoing a great fast and performing works of self-denial and corporeal austerities in a most rigorous manner. During the time spent in those hard exercises of strict mortification, to conquer his passions and secure the complete triumph of the mind over senses, he was assisted in all his wants by those five Rahans, who rendered to him the usual services disciples are wont to perform for their teacher. When they saw Phralaong, at the end of his mighty efforts in that great struggle, resuming the habits of a mendicant, they left him at once, unwilling to believe that he would ever become a Buddha. Our Phra, not unmindful of the good services he had received from them, resolved to impart first to them the blessings of his preachings. Alara and Udaka, his two first teachers in the science of Dzan, were destined to be the first who would have heard the good news, had they not been dead. Gratitude seems to have been the first and main motive that induced him to select as the first objects of his mis-

but where are they now?" His penetrating regards soon discovered them in the solitude of Migadawon. Having enjoyed himself in the place Adzapala, Buddha went on toward the country of Baranathe. He wished to walk all the way, though the former Buddhas had gone over that distance through the air. All the former Buddhas traveled through the air, but our Buddha, who had merciful designs over Upaka, went on foot. On his way to the village of Gaya, at a distance of three *gawots* from the Bodi tree, at midday, Buddha went to rest for a while in the cooling shade of a tree. There he was seen by the heretic Rahan Upaka, who, approaching near him, said: "O Rahan, all your exterior bespeaks the most amiable qualities; your countenance is at once modest and beautiful. Under what teacher have you become a Rahan? To what law or doctrine have you given preference in your arduous studies?" Buddha answered: "Upaka, I have triumphed over all the laws of mutability; I am acquainted with all the laws that rule this universe, and the beings existing therein; from concupiscence and other passions I am wholly disengaged. I have come to preach the most excellent law to all beings, and teach them the four great truths I alone am acquainted with. I will beat the great drum of the law. I have no teacher, and among Nats and men there is none equal to me. Because of my victory on the laws of demerits I have been named Zeena. Now I am proceeding to the country of Baranathe, for the sake of preaching the law." Upaka replied: "You are certainly the illustrious Gotama." He then shook his head, turned away from the road, and went to the village of Wingah. The instructions, however, as a good seed, germinated in the soul

sion the very same persons who had been instrumental in furthering his efforts to acquire the Buddhahood.

The unpleasant epithet of "heretic" is given to those five Rahans, as well as to another, named Upaka, as designed to mean that they were holding tenets at variance with those of Buddha, and refused to acknowledge him as possessed with the perfect intelligence. Buddhists in their writings invariably call their opponents by the name of holders of false doctrines. The brahmins or Pounhas, who refuse to seek refuge in Buddha, his law, and the assembly of his disciples, are styled as professors of heterodoxical doctrines.

of Upaka, and were the foundation of his subsequent conversion, which happened as follows: After his interview with Gotama, Upaka dwelt as a hermit in the village of Wingahà, where a shed was erected for his dwelling. A hunter was his supporter. It happened that the hunter being engaged in a hunting excursion, his daughter went to the hermit's cell to carry him his food. Upaka was smitten by the beauty of the damsel. He stretched himself on his belly and said to himself: "I will take no food, nor change this position, unless I obtain the object of my wishes." He stayed for several days in that position, without uttering a word or making a single movement, or taking any food. At last, the hunter returned and went forthwith to the hermit's cell to inquire about the cause of his strange behavior. He pulled him by the feet, calling him aloud by the name of "Hermit!" After a while a sepulchral groan was heard, indicating that he was still alive. The good hunter affectionately entreated him to confess to him what he wanted, that he was ready to give him anything that he would ask. The hermit a second time made a prolonged groan, as a man that is endeavoring to gather strength; he then mentioned to the hunter the passion he had for his daughter, and swore that he would die on the spot if his demand were rejected. The father having given his consent, Upaka rose up, and soon was married to Tsawama, who after due time presented him with a son. It happened that Tsawama soon began to dislike her husband, and poured upon him on every occasion all sorts of abuses. Unable to bear any longer the unpleasant behavior of his wife, Upaka said to himself: "I have here neither friend nor supporter: I will go to my friend Dzina: he will receive me with kindness." Hereupon, he departed, inquiring everywhere for his friend Dzina. At last, he arrived at the place where Buddha was staying with his disciples. Some of them hearing Upaka inquiring with a loud voice for his friend Dzina, took him into the presence of Buddha, who understanding at once the sad and painful state of the old man, kindly asked what he wanted. Upaka replied that he desired to become a Samanay under his direction. Buddha, to try

his disposition, said to him: "You are too old, Upaka, to enter upon the course of the severe life of a Samanay, and conform to the enjoined practises." But the latter renewing his entreaties, he was admitted among the members of the assembly. He became an Anagam, and later he died and migrated to one of the seats of brahmins. After a short stay up there he obtained the deliverance. His son was Thubadda, who became afterward an illustrious convert. Buddha continued his way toward Baranathe, and soon reached the solitude of Migadawon, little distant from Baranathe, and went to the place where lived the five unbelieving Rahans. When they saw him coming at a distance they said to each other: "The Rahan Gotama is in search of disciples; he has just performed penitential deeds and he is evidently seeking alms and clothes. Let us pay no respect to him, in the way of going out to meet him, of receiving the *tsiwaran* from his hands, of presenting him water to wash his feet, or preparing a place to sit on: let him sit wherever he pleases. Such was the plan they were concerting among themselves. But when the Buddha drew near they could adhere no longer to their resolution. They rose up and went out to welcome his arrival. One took the *tsiwaran* from his hands, another the *patta*, a third one brought water for the washing of his feet, and a fourth one prepared a becoming place to rest. Buddha sat in the place that had been prepared for him. They called him by the name of Gotama, and other appellations usually bestowed on ordinary Rahans. Buddha meekly replied to them: "Do not call me any longer by the name of Gotama, or by any other title bestowed on an ascetic. I have become a Rahanda, I alone am acquainted with the four fundamental truths. Now I am come to preach to you the true law. Listen, O Rahans, to my words; I will lead you to the true state of Nirvana. My law will make you acquainted not only with the truths to be known, but at the same time point out to you the duties you have to perform in order to obtain the state of Arahata. There are four ways leading to perfection. He who steadily follows them will enjoy the rewards and merits gained by his exertions. In

that position he will see distinctly his own self, the light of Nirvana will break forth upon him. But in order to obtain the great results I set forth before you, he must forsake his house, the world, and become a *Rahan*."

The unbelieving *Rahans* persisted in not acknowledging him as a Buddha, and reproached him with going about in search of disciples, and in quest of alms. The same preaching was repeated by Buddha, and the same answer was returned by the incredulous hearers. At last Buddha, assuming a lofty and commanding tone, said to them: I declare unto you that I am a Buddha, knowing the four great truths, and showing the way to Nirvana. The hitherto unbelieving ascetics humbled themselves, declared their belief in him and in all that he had taught. From that moment they entered on the four ways of perfection. The day was that of the full moon of Watso. The preaching began at the moment when half the discus of the sun was visible on the western horizon, and half that of the moon was above the eastern horizon. When completed, the sun had just disappeared, and the moon's entire globe was visible on the horizon. The five first converts were named *Kautagnya*, *Baddiha*, *Wappa*, *Mahanan*, and *Asadzi*.

The Nats, guardians of the country of *Baranathe*³ and

³ The mission of Buddha is not, as previously observed, confined to men living on earth, but it extends its beneficial action to all the beings inhabiting the six seats of Nats, and sixteen of brahmins. Those beings, the latter in particular, are much advanced in perfection, but they are not yet ripe for the sublime state of Nirvana. Though freed, at least the brahmins, from the influence of passions, they retain as yet some inclination for matter; they want the help of a Buddha to break at once the few slender ties that retain them in the state of existence.

The first preaching of Buddha was rewarded with the conversion of five *Rahans* and of a countless number of Nats and brahmins. Such a plentiful harvest one could scarcely have expected to reap; and the beginning of his career, attended with such wonderful success, amply repaid him for the extraordinary exertions he made in order to qualify himself for the Buddhahood. The author of the legend remarks, with an unfeigned pleasure, that owing to the conversion of the five *Rahans*, the worlds witnessed the beautiful sight of six *Rahandas*, congregated on the same spot. The *Rahanda* has attained the summit of perfection; he has arrived at the last existence; his death will relieve him from the burden of existence and open to him the way leading to perfect rest,

Migadawon, hearing the sublime instructions delivered by Buddha on this occasion, cried aloud: "The law which the most excellent Buddha preaches is such as no man, Pounha or brahmin, can teach." Their united voices were heard in the lowest seat of Nats: the inhabitants of that seat catching their words, repeated them, and they were heard by those of the next seat, and so on, until they reached the seats of brahmins, and were reechoed through 10,000 worlds. A mighty commotion was felt all over those worlds.

The five at first unbelieving, but now believing, Rahans obtained the perfection of Thautapati. Buddha often repeated to those that approached him: "Come to me—I preach a doctrine which leads to the deliverance from all the miseries attending existence." On that day, being the full moon of Watso, eighteen Koodes (18,000,000,000) of Nats and brahmins who had heard his preachings obtained the deliverance. The conversion of those five Rahans exhibited to the world the splendid and wonderful sight of six *Rahandas* assembled in the one place.

[The succeeding chapters tell mainly of Buddha's preachings as in the Book of the Great Decease.]

complete abstraction, in a word, to Nirvana. The *Rahandas* rank first among the disciples and hearers of Buddha; they constitute the *élite* of his followers, and form the most distinguished portion of the assembly or congregation of the perfect. We have already stated that the members composing the assembly of the hearers were divided into distinct factions, and formed different degrees, according to the difference of their respective progress in the way of perfection.

THE BUDDHA SONG OF AWAKENING¹

Long have I wandered, long!
Bound by the chain of life,
Through many births;
Seeking thus long in vain
Whence comes this life in man, his conscious-
ness, his pain!

And hard to bear is birth,
When pain and death but lead to birth again.
Found! It is found!
O Cause of Individuality!
No longer shalt thou make a house for me.

Broken are all thy beams,
Thy ridge-pole shattered!
Into Nirvana now my mind has past.
The end of cravings has been reached at last!

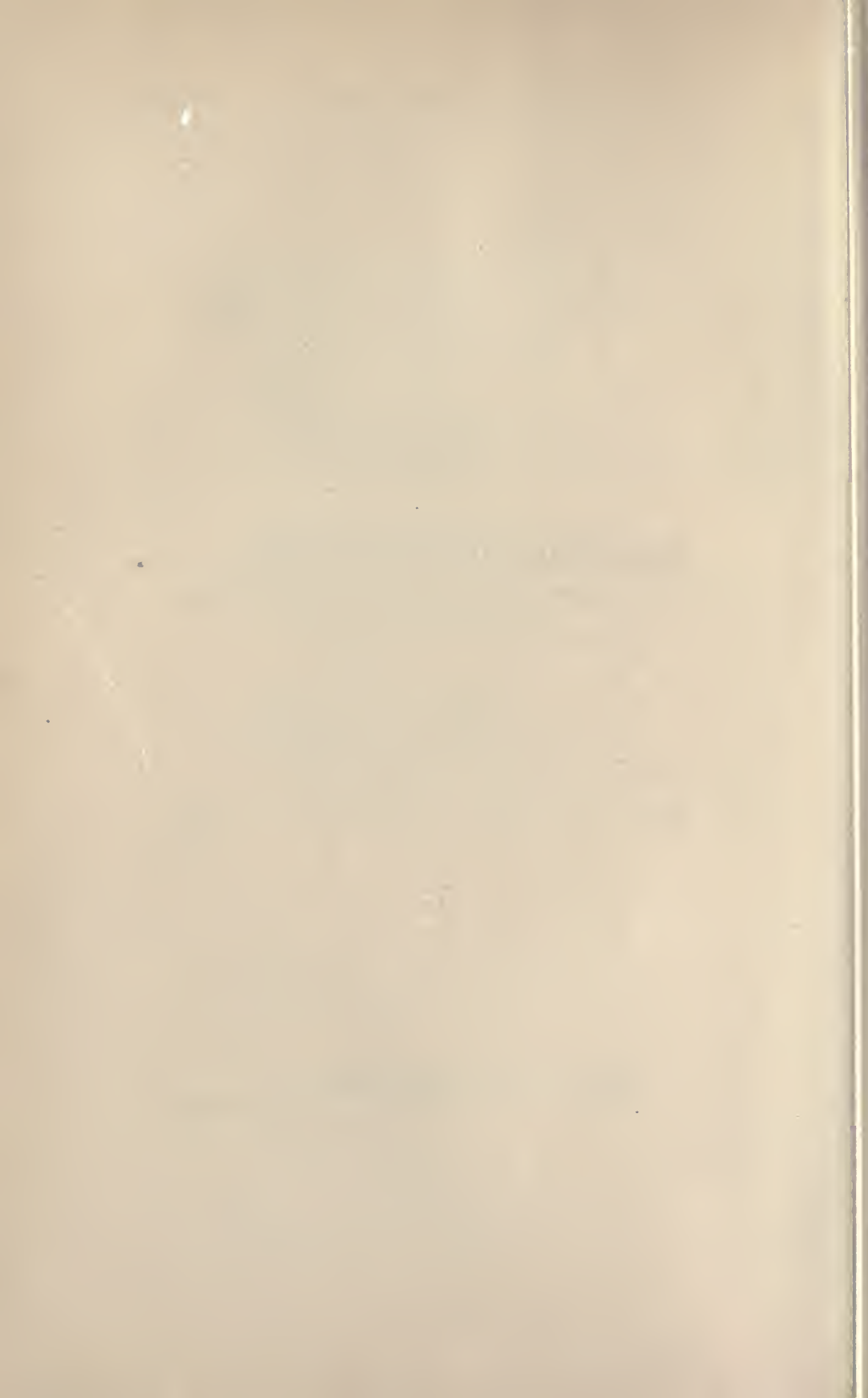
¹ From the translation in Prof. Rhys Davids' "Buddhist Birth Stories."

THE JATAKA, OR BIRTH-TALES

THE FAMOUS BEAST-FABLES OF THE LIVES OF BUDDHA

"This was related by the Teacher."

—THE JATAKA.



THE JATAKA

(INTRODUCTION)

THE Jataka, or collection of birth-tales, has perhaps been already sufficiently explained. These tales are among the earliest of the legends which gathered around Gotama's life, and are certainly among the most seemingly unreligious stories every incorporated in any Scripture. They are mainly, though not entirely, beast-fables; and these echo the common lore of India, just as do the Brahmanic beast-tales of the Hitopadesa given in a previous volume. The only difference is that these beast-tales of the Buddhists have been accepted as absolutely true and have been included among their holy books. This unexpected dignity has been accorded them by declaring them to be tales told by Buddha, not as parables, but as actual incidents remembered by him from his thousands of former lives. The great Teacher is thus represented as having passed, like all souls, through many lower forms of life. Buddha, however, had always, through every life, worked his way upward. Thus each story has a moral point; and each has undoubtedly for Buddhists a strong uplifting influence. Each tale gives an ordinary fable, whether of beasts or men; then at the ending Buddha explains that he himself had been some one of the characters in the tale, and he points out how his action had helped him on his upward "path," had given his spirit some needed quality of added wisdom or benevolence or courage.

The Jataka exists as a regularly accepted section of the Sutta basket of the Ti-pitaka, or Buddhist Scriptures. It was included among the Suttas at least as early as 70 B.C., and probably even before. To attempt to seek the date of the actual origin of the stories themselves, before they were given a religious significance, would be a hopeless task. They probably belong, like other beast-fables, to the very early childhood of the Aryan race.

THE JATAKA

A BIRTH-STORY

CALLED

THE STRIDER OVER BATTLE-FIELDS ¹

This was related by the Teacher while dwelling at Jetavana monastery; and it was concerning Nanda the elder.

For when the Teacher made his visit home to Kapilapura, he induced his youngest brother, Prince Nanda, to join the Order. Then he departed from Kapilapura and, traveling from place to place, he came and dwelt at Savatthi.

Now when the venerable Nanda had taken the Blessed One's bowl, and was leaving home, Belle-of-the-Country heard the report that Prince Nanda was going away in company with the Teacher, and with hair half-braided she looked out of the window, and called out to him: "Come back quickly, my love!" And her speech remained in the venerable Nanda's mind, so that he became love-sick, and discontented, and pined away until the network of his veins showed on the surface of his body.

When the Teacher heard of all this, he thought: "What if now I were to establish Nanda in saintship?" And going to the cell which was Nanda's sleeping-room, and taking his seat on the mat that was offered him, he said:

"Nanda, are you contented under this dispensation?"

"Reverend Sir, I am not contented, for I am exceedingly in love with Belle-of-the-Country."

"Nanda, have you ever taken a trip through the Himalaya mountains?"

"Reverend Sir, I never have."

¹ This story and the next are reprinted from H. C. Warren's "Buddhism in Translation" in the Harvard Oriental Series, by permission of Harvard University.

"Then let us go now."

"Reverend Sir, I have no magical power. How can I go?"

"I will take you, Nanda," said the Teacher, "by my own magical power."

Then he took the elder by the hand, and sprang into the air. As they passed along he pointed out to him a field that had been burned over, and on a charred stump was seated a she-monkey with her nose and tail destroyed, her hair singed off, her skin fissured and peeled to the quick, and all smeared with blood.

"Nanda, do you see this she-monkey?"

"Yes, Reverend Sir."

"Take good note of her."

Then he took him and showed him Manosila table-land, which is sixty leagues in extent, and Anotatta, and the rest of the seven great lakes, and the five great rivers, and the Himalaya range containing many hundred pleasant spots, and graced with Gold Mountain, Silver Mountain, and Jewel Mountain.

Then said he, "Nanda, have you ever seen the Heaven of the Suite of the Thirty-three?"

"Reverend Sir, I never have."

"Come, then, Nanda, and I will show it to you."

And he took him thither, and sat down on Sakka's marble throne.

And Sakka, the king of the gods, came up with the gods of two heavens, and did obeisance, and sat down respectfully at one side. And his female attendants, twenty-five million in number, and five hundred pink-footed celestial nymphs came up also, and did obeisance, and sat down respectfully at one side.

The Teacher suffered the venerable Nanda to look upon these five hundred celestial nymphs again and again with passion.

"Nanda," said he, "do you see these pink-footed celestial nymphs?"

"Yes, Reverend Sir."

"Pray, now, are these or Belle-of-the-Country the prettier?"

"Reverend Sir, as is the burned she-monkey compared to Belle-of-the-Country, so is Belle-of-the-Country compared to these."

"Well, Nanda, what then?"

"Reverend Sir, what does one do to obtain these celestial nymphs?"

"By performing the duties of a monk does one obtain these nymphs."

"Reverend Sir, if the Blessed One will be my guarantee that if I perform the duties of a monk I shall obtain these nymphs, I will perform the duties of a monk."

"Do so, Nanda. I am your guarantee."

Thus did the elder take the Tathagata as a guarantee in the presence of the assembled gods. Then he said,

"Reverend Sir, do not delay. Come, let us go. I will perform the duties of a monk."

Then the Teacher returned with him to Jetavana monastery; and the elder began to perform the duties of a monk.

"Sariputta," said then the Teacher, addressing the Captain of the Doctrine, "my youngest brother, Nanda, took me as guarantee for some celestial nymphs in the presence of the gods assembled in the Heaven of the Suite of the Thirty-three."

Thus he told him. And in the same way he told it to Maha-Moggallana the elder, to Maha-Kassapa the elder, to Anuruddha the elder, to Ananda the elder and Treasurer of the Doctrine, and so on to all the eighty great disciples, and also to the greater part of the other priests.

The Captain of the Doctrine, Sariputta the elder, then drew near to Nanda the elder, and said,

"Is it true, as they say, brother Nanda, that in the presence of the gods assembled in the Heaven of the Suite of the Thirty-three you took The One Possessing the Ten Forces as a guarantee for some celestial nymphs, if you performed the duties of a monk? If that be so, is not your chaste religious life all for the sake of women? all for the sake of your pas-

sions? What is the difference between your thus doing the duties of a monk for the sake of women, and a laborer who performs his work for hire?"

This speech put the elder to shame, and made him quite dispirited. And in the same way all the eighty great disciples, and the remaining priests also, shamed the venerable Nanda. And realizing that he had behaved in an unworthy manner, in shame and remorse he summoned up his heroism, and attained to insight and to saintship; and coming to the Teacher, he said,

"Reverend Sir, I release the Blessed One from his promise."

Said the Teacher, "When you attained to saintship, O Nanda, I became released from my promise."

When the priests heard of this occurrence, they raised a discussion in the lecture-hall:

"Brethren, how amenable to admonition is Nanda the elder! One admonition was sufficient to arouse in him shame and remorse, so that he performed the duties of a monk, and attained to saintship."

The Teacher came and inquired, "Priests, what now is the subject of your discourse?"

And they told him.

"Priests, formerly also, and not now for the first time, was Nanda amenable to admonition." So saying, he related the bygone occurrence:

Once upon a time, when Brahmadatta was ruling at Benares, the future Buddha was born in the family of an elephant-trainer; and when he had come of age, and become accomplished as an elephant-trainer, he took service under a king who was hostile to the King of Benares. And he trained the State elephant until it was very well trained.

Then the King resolved to conquer the kingdom of Benares, and taking the future Buddha with him, and mounting the State elephant, with a mighty army he went to Benares, and surrounded the place. Then he sent a letter to the King, saying, "Give me the kingdom, or give me battle."

Brahmadatta resolved to give battle; and having manned the walls, the watch-towers, and the gates, he did so.

His enemy had his State elephant armed with a defensive suit of mail, put on armor himself, and mounted on the elephant's shoulders. "I will break into the city, kill my enemy, and take possession of the kingdom." With this thought he seized a sharp goad, and urged the elephant in the direction of the city.

But the elephant, when he saw the hot mud, the stones from the catapults, and the various kinds of missiles thrown by the defenders, did not dare to advance, but retreated in mortal terror.

Then his trainer drew near: "Old fellow," said he, "you are a hero, a strider over battle-fields. Retreat at such a time is not worthy of you." And thus admonishing the elephant, he pronounced the following stanzas:

"A strider over battle-fields,
A hero, strong one, art thou called.
Why, then, behemoth, dost retreat
On coming near the gateway arch?

"Break down in haste the great cross-bar!
The city-pillars take away! ¹
And crashing through the gateway arch,
Enter, behemoth, quickly in!"

This one admonition was sufficient. For when the elephant heard it, he turned back, twisted his trunk round the city-pillars, and pulled them up like so many mushrooms. Then, crashing down the gateway arch, and forcing the cross-bar, he broke his way into the city, captured the kingdom, and gave it to his master.

When the Teacher had given this doctrinal instruction, he identified the characters of the birth-story:

"In that existence the elephant was Nanda, the King was Ananda, while the elephant-trainer was I myself."

¹ In front of the city-gates are pillars buried eight or sixteen feet of their length in the ground to make them immovable: the command is to pull up these quickly.

A BIRTH-STORY

CALLED

SOME RED-FISH HAVE I, SEVEN IN ALL

This was related by the Teacher while dwelling in Jetavana monastery; and it was concerning a donation of all the requisites to the congregation of the priests.

It seems that a householder of Savatthi prepared a donation of all the requisites for the Buddha and for the Order. At the door of his house he had a pavilion built and got ready, and having invited the Buddha and the congregation of the priests, he made them sit down on costly seats which had been spread for them in the pavilion, and gave them an excellent repast of savory dishes. Then he invited them again for the next day, and again for the next, until he had invited them seven times. And on the seventh day he made the donation of all the requisites to the Buddha and to five hundred priests.

At the end of the breakfast the Teacher returned thanks and said,

“Layman, it is fitting that you thus manifest a hearty zeal; for this alms-giving was also the custom of the wise of old time. For the wise of old time surrendered their own lives to chance suppliants, and gave their own flesh to be eaten.”

Then, at the request of the householder, he related the by-gone occurrence:

Once upon a time, when Brahmadata was ruling at Benares, the future Buddha was born as a hare, and dwelt in a wood. Now on one side of this wood was a mountain, on another a river, and on another a border village. And there were three other animals that were his comrades — a monkey, a jackal, and an otter. These four wise creatures dwelt

together, catching their prey each in his own hunting-ground, and at night resorting together. And the wise hare would exhort the other three, and teach them the Doctrine, saying, "Give alms, keep the precepts, and observe fast-days." Then the three would approve of his admonition, and go each to his own lair in the thicket, and spend the night.

Time was going by in this manner, when one day the future Buddha looked up into the sky and saw the moon, and perceived that the next day would be fast-day. Then said he to the others,

"To-morrow is fast-day. Do you three keep the precepts and observe the day; and as alms given while keeping the precepts bring great reward, if any suppliants present themselves, give them to eat of your own food."

"Very well," said they, and passed the night in their lairs.

On the next day the otter started out early, and went to the banks of the Ganges to hunt for prey. Now a fisherman had caught seven red-fish and strung them on a vine, and buried them in the sand on the banks of the Ganges, and had then gone on down-stream catching fish as he went. The otter smelt the fishy odor, and scraping away the sand, perceived the fish and drew them out. Then he called out three times, "Does any one own these?" and when he saw no owner, he bit hold of the vine with his teeth, and drew them to his lair in the thicket. There he lay down, remembering that he was keeping the precepts, and thinking, "I will eat these at the proper time."

And the jackal also went out to hunt for prey, and found in the hut of a field-watcher two spits of meat, and one iguana, and a jar of sour cream. Then he called out three times, "Does any one own these?" and when he saw no owner, he placed the cord that served as a handle for the jar of sour cream about his neck, took hold of the spits of meat and of the iguana with his teeth, and brought them home and placed them in his lair in the thicket. Then he lay down, remembering that he was keeping the precepts, and thinking, "I will eat these at the proper time."

And the monkey also, entering the forest, fetched home a

bunch of mangoes, and placed them in his lair in the thicket. Then he lay down, remembering that he was keeping the precepts, and thinking, "I will eat these at the proper time."

The future Buddha, however, remained in his thicket, thinking, "At the proper time I will go out and eat dabba-grass."¹ Then he thought,

"If any suppliants come, they will not want to eat grass, and I have no sesamum, rice, or other such food. If any suppliant comes, I will give him of my own flesh."

Such fieriness of zeal in keeping the precepts caused the marble throne of Sakka to grow hot. Then, looking carefully, Sakka discovered the cause, and proposed to himself to try the hare. And disguised as a brahmin, he went first to the lair of the otter.

"Brahmin, why stand you there?" said the otter.

Said he, "Pandit, if I could but get something to eat, I would keep fast-day vows, and perform the duties of a monk."

"Very well," said the otter; "I will give you food." And he addressed him with the first stanza:

"Some red-fish have I, seven in all,
Found stranded on the river bank.
All these, O brahmin, are my own;
Come eat, and dwell within this wood."

"I will return a little later," said the brahmin; "let the matter rest until to-morrow."

Then he went to the jackal. And the latter also asking, "Why stand you there?" the brahmin answered the same as before.

"Very well," said the jackal; "I will give you some food." And he addressed him with the second stanza:

"A watchman guards the field close by,
His supper have I ta'en away;
Two spits of meat, iguana one,
One dish of butter clarified.
All these, O brahmin, are my own;
Come eat, and dwell within this wood."

¹ Name of various kinds of grasses used for sacrificial purposes.

"I will return a little later," said the brahmin; "let the matter rest until to-morrow."

Then he went to the monkey. And the latter also asking, "Why stand you there?" the brahmin answered the same as before.

"Very well," said the monkey; "I will give you some food." And he addressed him with the third stanza:

"Ripe mangoes, water clear and cold,
And cool and pleasant woodland shade—
All these, O brahmin, are my own;
Come eat, and dwell within this wood."

"I will return a little later," said the brahmin; "let the matter rest until to-morrow."

Then he went to the wise hare. And he also asking, "Why stand you there?" the brahmin answered the same as before.

The future Buddha was delighted. "Brahmin," said he, "you have done well in coming to me for food. To-day I will give alms such as I never gave before; and you will not have broken the precepts by destroying life. Go, my friend, and gather wood, and when you have made a bed of coals, come and tell me. I will sacrifice my life by jumping into the bed of live coals. And as soon as my body is cooked, do you eat of my flesh, and perform the duties of a monk." And he addressed him with the fourth stanza:

"The hare no seed of sesamum
Doth own, nor beans, nor winnowed rice.
But soon my flesh this fire shall roast;
Then eat, and dwell within this wood."

When Sakka heard this speech, he made a heap of live coals by his superhuman power, and came and told the future Buddha. The latter rose from his couch of dabba-grass, and went to the spot. And saying, "If there are any insects in my fur, I must not let them die," he shook himself three times. Then throwing his whole body into the jaws of his liberality, he jumped into the bed of coals, as delighted in mind as a royal flamingo when he alights in a cluster of

lotuses. The fire, however, was unable to make hot so much as a hair-pore of the future Buddha's body. He felt as if he had entered the abode of cold above the clouds.

Then, addressing Sakka, he said,

"Brahmin, the fire you have made is exceeding cold, and is not able to make hot so much as a hair-pore of my body. What does it mean?"

"Pandit, I am no brahmin; I am Sakka, come to try you."

"Sakka, your efforts are useless; for if all beings who dwell in the world were to try me in respect of my liberality, they would not discover in me any unwillingness to give." Thus the future Buddha thundered.

"Wise hare," said then Sakka, "let your virtue be proclaimed to the end of this world-cycle." And taking a mountain, he squeezed it, and with the juice drew the outline of a hare in the disk of the moon. Then in that wood, and in that thicket, he placed the future Buddha on some tender dabba-grass, and taking leave of him, departed to his own celestial abode.

And these four wise creatures lived happily and harmoniously, and kept the precepts, and observed fast-days, and passed away according to their deeds.

When the Teacher had given this instruction, he expounded the truths, and identified the characters of the birth-story: [At the close of the exposition of the truths, the householder who had given all the requisites became established in the fruit of conversion.]

"In that existence the otter was Ananda, the jackal was Moggallana, the monkey was Sariputta, while the wise hare was I myself."

BIRTH-STORIES FROM THE BURMESE ¹

THE FOX AND THE LION

When the most excellent Buddha was in the Dzetawon monastery, surrounded with his disciples, desiring to correct a religious who was in the habit of keeping bad company, he narrated the following story:

At the time that the Princes Bramanas reigned at Baranathee, Phralaong was then a lion, father to two little ones, one male and the other female. The first was named Menandza. The lion's household, when Menandza was grown up and had married, was composed in all of five individuals. Menandza, strong and bold, went out every day in quest of prey for the support of his four relations that remained in the den. One day, in the middle of one of his predatory excursions, he happened to meet with a fox, which was lying on his belly in a most respectful posture. On being asked by the proud lion with a terrific voice, accompanied by a threatening glance, what he was doing, the fox respectfully answered: "I am humbly prostrated here to do homage and pay my respects to your majesty." "Well," said Menandza; and he took him alive to his den. As soon as the father saw the fox he said to his son: "My son, the fox is an animal full of cunning and deceit, faithless, without honor, addicted to all wicked practises, and always engaged and embroiled in some bad affairs; be on your guard; beware of such a companion, and forthwith send him away." Unheeding his father's wise advice Menandza persisted in having his way, and kept his new friend with him.

On a certain day the fox intimated to Menandza that he longed to eat the flesh of a young colt. "Where is the place these young animals are wont to graze?" asked Menandza. "On the banks of the river of Baranathee," replied the fox.

¹ Translated by Bishop Bigandet.

Both started immediately for the indicated spot. They saw there a great number of horses bathing in the river. Menandza, in an instant, pounced upon a young one, and carried it to his den. "It is not prudent," said the old father, "to eat those animals which belong to the king. One day he will cause you to be shot from a distance with arrows, and kill you. No lion that eats horse-flesh has ever lived long. From this day, cease to attack those animals." Deaf to such wholesome warnings, Menandza continued to carry destruction among the horses. News was soon conveyed to the king that a lion and a fox were making great havoc among his horses. He ordered the cattle to be kept within the town. The lion, however, contrived to seize some and carry them away. Orders were given to keep them in an enclosure. Despite this precaution, some horses yet disappeared. Enraged at this, the king called a bowman and asked him whether he could transfix a lion with his arrows. The bowman said that he could. Hereupon, leaving the king he went and hid himself behind a post, waiting for the offender. It was not long ere he made his appearance; but the cautious fox had remained somewhat behind, hidden in a drain. In one start the lion with the quickness of lightning was on the wall, and straight on he went to the stable. The bowman said within himself: "The lion's movements are very quick; I will wait until he comes back laden with his prey." He had scarcely turned this thought in his mind when the lion was already on his way back carrying a horse. The bowman, ready, shot an arrow that transfixed the fierce animal. The lion made a start; crying with a terrific voice, "I am wounded!" The fox, hearing his friend's accents and the sharp whistling of the bow-string, knew at once what had happened. He said to himself, shaking his head: "There is no friendship, forsooth, with the dead; my friend has fallen under the bowman's arrow; my life is safe; I will go back to my former place."

The wounded lion, making a last effort, went back to his den, and dropped dead at its entrance.

Menandza's relatives, perceiving the wound and the blood

gushing out of it, understood at once that he had been shot through with an arrow, and that the fox was the cause of his miserable and untimely end. His mother gave vent to her grief as follows: "Whoever associates with the wicked shall not live long; behold, my Menandza is no more, because he followed the fox's advice." The father, in his turn, bewailed the loss of his son: "He who goes in company with the wicked shall meet with some evil fate; witness my son whom his desolate mother sees weltering in the very blood she gave him." His sister cried aloud: "He who does not follow the advice of the good shall repent for it: he is mad, and, like my brother, shall come to an untimely and cruel end." Menandza's wife exclaimed: "He who belongs to a superior rank ought to beware of associating with those of a rank inferior to his own; otherwise he soon becomes as despicable as those he associates with. He loses his position, and becomes the laughing-stock of all."

Buddha concluded his discourse with this reflection, that no one ought to keep company with those that are wicked and of an inferior position. The religious profited so well of the lecture that he broke at once with his former friends, and soon reached the state of Thautapan. The fox has been since Dewadat; Menandza, the religious, the object of the lecture; Menandza's sister, Upalawon; his wife, Kema, his mother, Yathaudara; his father, Phralaong.

THE JACKAL AND THE HUNTER

When the most excellent Phra was in the Weloowon monastery, alluding to the Dewadat, who aimed at harming him, he spoke as follows:

At the time the Princes Bramanas reigned at Baranathee, Phralaong was then a jackal, presiding over five hundred other jackals of his own tribe. His dwelling-place was in a cemetery. One day it happened that the inhabitants of Radzagio made a great feast, where every one ate and drank as much as he liked. The repast was nearly over, when some one asked for a last piece of meat, to give the finishing

stroke to his appetite. He was told that not the smallest morsel remained. On hearing this unwelcome news he rose up, laying hold of a wooden club, and went straight to the cemetery. Then stretching himself on the ground he lay down, as if dead. Phralaong cautiously drawing near to the pretended dead body, smelt it from a becoming distance, and soon discovered the snare laid for him. Coming up unperceived close to him he suddenly seized the club with his teeth, pulling it with all his might. The young man did not let go his hold. The animal withdrawing, said to the hunter: "Young man, I perceive now that you are not dead." The hunter, goaded with shame and anger, rose up, and, with more energy than dexterity, flung his club at the jackal; but he missed him. "Go away," said he, "wretched beast, you may boast that you have escaped this time." "Yes," mildly replied the jackal; "I have been saved from your club; but no one shall ever be able to preserve you from the punishments in the eight great hells!" Having thus spoken he soon disappeared. The young man, having washed away in the ditch the dust that covered him, walked back, quite disappointed, into the town. The hunter was the same that subsequently has become Dewadat. As to the jackal, he is the same that has since become Buddha.

THE PIGEON AND THE HUNTER

When Phra was in the Dzetawon monastery, desiring to give instruction to the young son of a nobleman named Ootara, he spoke as follows:

At the time, the Princes Bramanas reigned at Baranathee, Phralaong was a pigeon. There was then a man in that country who was wont to catch pigeons, bring them to his house, and carefully feed them until they had become fat, when he then sold them at a high rate. Together with other pigeons Phralaong was caught and brought over to the house. But he would not peck the grain that was spread before him. "Should I eat," said he to himself, "I will soon get fat and then be sold like the others." He soon became wretchedly thin. Surprised at this, the hunter took him out

of the cage, placing the bird on the palm of his hand to examine it more closely and find the cause of its leanness. Phralaong watching the opportunity of a favorable moment, when the attention of his guardian was called to some other object, flew away to his own old place, leaving the hunter quite vexed at and ashamed of his confiding simplicity. The hunter is in these days Dewadat; and the pigeon is now Buddha himself.

NEMI

When the most excellent Buddha was in the country of Mithila he went, attended with a great many Rahans, to the monastery of Meggadawa, situated in the middle of a beautiful grove of mango-trees. He spoke as follows to the assembly:

Beloved bhikkus, in former times I lived in this very place where we are now congregated, and was the ruler of the country of Mithila. He then remained silent. Ananda respectfully entreated him to condescend to narrate to them some of the principal events that happened at that time. Buddha assented to the request, and said: Formerly there reigned at Mithila a prince named Mingga-dewa. During 82,000 years he remained a prince, and spent all his time in the enjoyment of all sorts of pleasures; he was crown prince of that country during the same space of time, and reigned as king during a similar period.

On a certain day the barber of the king having detected a gray hair on the royal head, exhibited it to his astonished majesty. The king dismayed at the sight, realized that this object was a forerunner of death. He gave up the throne and resolved to become a Rahan. Having put into execution his resolve, he practised with greatest zeal the highest virtues, and after his death migrated to one of the fortunate seats of brahmins. Eighty-two thousand princes who succeeded him followed his footsteps, inherited his virtues, and, after their demise, obtained a place in the same seat.

Prince Mingga-dewa, who had opened the way to such a

succession of pious monarchs, perceiving that his race was near being extinct, left the seat of Bráhmâs and took flesh in the womb of the queen of the king who then governed Mithila. On the tenth month the queen was delivered of a son, who received the name of Nemi. The Pounhas, who were invited to the palace to tell the horoscope of the royal child, assured the king that this child would follow the example of all his predecessors, who had left the throne and embraced the profession of Rahans.

From a tender age the young prince displayed a pious disposition, was liberal in alms-giving, and fervently observed all the religious practises. All the inhabitants of that kingdom followed his noble and inspiring example, so that when any one died he migrated at once to one of the Nats' seats. During those happy times hell seemed to have become quite unnecessary.

On a certain day Nemi expressed his desire to know which was the more excellent practise — the bestowing of alms, or the observance of the precepts. The great Thagia came down from his glorious seat, encompassed with an incomparably shining brightness, and went to the place where the prince was occupied with this thought in his mind. The angelical visitor told him that the bestowing of alms could but procure an admittance into the seats of Nats, but that a perfect compliance with the ordinances of the law opened the way to the seats of Bráhmâs. As soon as he had given this decision he returned to his blissful seat. On his arrival he found crowds of Nats given up to rejoicings. The Thagia gave them a detailed narrative of all that he had seen on earth during his errand, and in particular eulogized at great length upon the religious disposition of Prince Nemi. Enraptured with the heart-moving description they had heard, all the Nats at once exclaimed that they wished to see in their seats so accomplished and virtuous a prince. The Thagia commanded a young Nat, named Matali, to prepare his carriage, depart for the country of Mitila and bring to this fortunate seat the ruler of that country. Matali, bowing before the Thagia, left forthwith the seat of Nats, in a mag-

nificent chariot. It was then the day of the full moon, when the inhabitants of Mitila were piously engaged in discharging the prescribed religious duties. Suddenly there appeared coming from the east the magnificent dazzling equipage of the Nat, emerging in its splendor from the bosom of clouds at the same time as the moon in its full. Surprised at the unexpected sight, the people wondered, and many believed that two moons were miraculously rising. They were soon undeceived by the nearer approach of Matali's carriage. The messenger went to the king and conveyed to him the intelligence that the Nats were exceedingly anxious to see him. Without a moment's hesitation the king, on learning of this desire, stepped into the carriage and abandoned himself to the guidance of his heavenly guide. "Two roads are now opened before us," said Matali, "the one through the dismal dungeons where the wicked are consigned to undergo punishment for their offenses, and the other through the blissful seats where the good are enjoying the rewards allotted to them for their virtues. Which of the two do you wish to follow?" The prince said that he wished to visit both places. Matali answered mildly that his request should be complied with.

The celestial guide directed his course rapidly through the regions of desolation where dwells eternal horror. The first thing they saw was a broad and deep river, filled with frightful whirlpools, where the water seemed to boil. It glowed like a flame, and the whole appeared like a lake of fire. The river is called Watturani. On the banks of that river stand the infernal ministers, armed with all sorts of sharp-edged instruments, cutting, wounding, and piercing through the unfortunate wretches, who vainly try to get out of that horrible burning water. They are forcibly pushed back, only to tumble over pointed darts, whence they are taken up and roasted on living coals. Nothing is heard but the horrifying howls and yells of those unfortunate beings, who are awaiting with impatience the moment of their deliverance. "What are the crimes," asked the terrified prince, "that have committed these unfortunate ones to

such unheard-of sufferings?" "These beings are," replied Matali, "the persecutors of the weak, the heartless oppressors of the poor, who are doomed thus to undergo such punishment." Thence the guide drove rapidly to another region wherein dogs, each with five hideous heads, famished eagles, and devouring crows fed ravenously on the bodies of unfortunate victims, whose flesh is incessantly reproduced, to afford a continual prey to those never-satiated, ferocious animals. "These," said Matali, "suffer for having done no good to their fellow creatures; they have prevented others from doing good, and have borne envy of their neighbors."

[Here follows a long description of the other divisions of hell, given to Nemi by his celestial guide. We omit it lest its tedious and revolting particulars tire and disgust the reader. Suffice it to mention that the torments described by Tantalus are given here with horrifying detail that cast into shade those of the Latin poet.]

Having ranged the various regions of hell, and heard all the particulars given to him by Matali, Nemi was brought over to the blissful seats of the blessed. He soon descried, at a distance, the celebrated palace, made of diamonds, which occupies an immense square of twelve *youdzanas* on each side, and which is five stories high; then the garden, the tank, and the padetha-tree. In that palace one Biranee occupied a splendid apartment; she reclined on a downy sofa, surrounded by more than a thousand feminine beauties. "What good works," asked Nemi, "has Biranee practised, to be deserving of such a magnificent reward?" Matali replied: "This daughter of Nats was formerly a slave in the house of a Pounha. She was always very attentive in all the duties of her position, and at the same time regularly observed the precepts of the law. On a certain day her mistress, who was wont to feed daily eight Rahans, exclaimed, in a fit of anger, that she refused any longer to bear the fatigue attending the maintenance of those religious. But the young slave, full of religious zeal, took upon herself the labor of feeding the Rahans. For this good and meri-

torious work she is enjoying the happiness of her present position."

Nemi was successively shown the various seats of the dwellers in those blissful regions, and his guide explained at great length the good works that had procured for them the respective happy situation each enjoyed. Occasionally he mentioned the period of time they were allowed to dwell in those abodes of unparalleled happiness. He was finally brought into the presence of the great Thagia, who is the chief of all Nats. Finally, having viewed all the seats of Nats, Nemi was brought back by the same celestial guide to the seat of Men, in his own capital.

On his return Nemi found himself surrounded by his pious subjects, who eagerly inquired of him all the particulars respecting his journey. He told them that he had visited both the region of hell and that of Nats, and graphically described what he had seen, and concluded by exhorting his people to be liberal in bestowing alms, that they might hereafter be admitted to share in the enjoyment of the Nats' happiness.

Nemi as his hair grew grayer became still more zealous in the practise of deeds of alms, and resolved to embrace the profession of Rahans. But previous to his taking such a step he had his son Ralaradzana appointed to succeed him. In that prince terminated the long succession of kings who, in the decline of their lives, became Rahans.

THE DHAMMAPADA

THE MOST CELEBRATED TEACHING OF GOTAMA,
THE BUDDHA

TRANSLATED BY F. MAX MULLER

"All that we are is the result of what we have thought."

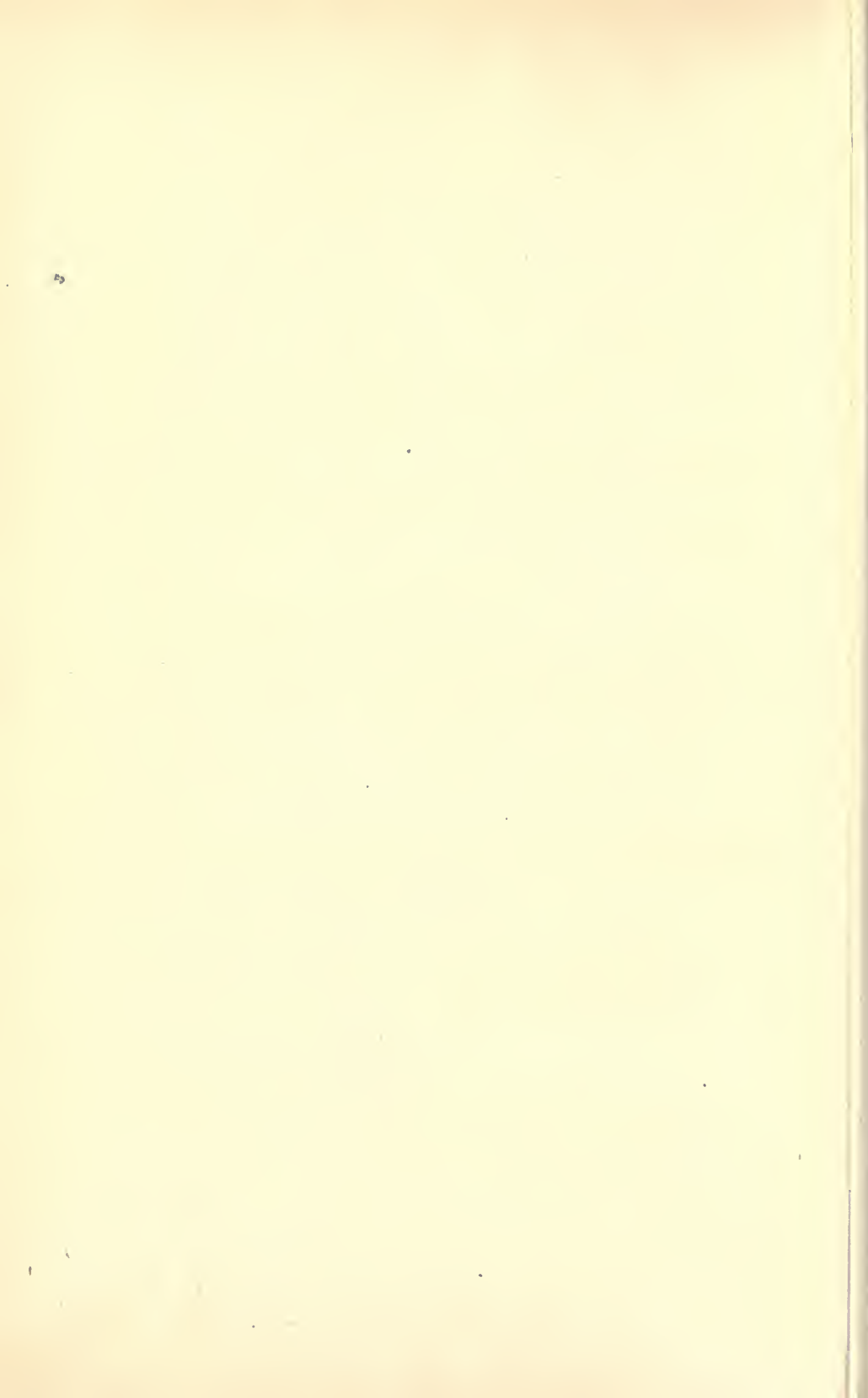
— DHAMMAPADA.

"A man is not an elder because his hair is gray. His age may be ripe, but he is called Old-in-vain. He in whom there are truth, virtue, love, restraint . . . he is called an elder."

— DHAMMAPADA.

"These sons belong to me, and this wealth belongs to me,' with such thoughts a fool is tormented. He himself does not belong to himself; how much less sons and wealth!"

— DHAMMAPADA.



THE DHAMMAPADA

(INTRODUCTION)

THE Dhammapada, or Footsteps of the Law, is to Western peoples the best known of all the Buddhist Scriptures. This is doubtless because it consists of a collection of aphorisms or epigrams, sharp of point, strong in wisdom, easy to remember. Some of its concentrated essence must linger in the form of quotation in every reader's mind. Who, for instance, who has read it, will ever quite forget that keenly phrased summary of the eternal evil consequences of evil, which thus dismisses the evil-doer as a blinded fool. "An evil deed, like newly drawn milk, does not turn suddenly; smoldering, like fire covered by ashes, it follows the fool."

The Dhammapada is thus a mass of many thoughts, each separate and each condensed into tablet form. Every "saying" has been phrased with a care which is somewhat lost in translation. Thus the entire book gives the impression of a clean-cut, highly polished gem. It is the most literary of the Buddhist Scriptures. This may have come about because, as devout Buddhists explain, each sentence has been preserved exactly as it came from the lips of Buddha. Yet most of the master's teaching, as preserved by the Suttas, is in a different form, more continuous and more like narrative, dealing with a running theme. Hence a critic might perhaps incline rather to look on the Dhammapada as a later work containing the separately constructed epigrams of many Buddhist teachers.

If we look at the book from this view-point, we shall be inclined to place it as one of the latest Suttas, perhaps of not much earlier date than the time of the fully established written form of the entire canon, about 70 B.C. The Dhammapada is therefore held to the close of the strictly re-

ligious writings in the present volume; and surely it serves well its purpose in thus summing up the accepted Buddhist attitude toward life. Whether the sayings be those of Buddha or of his disciples, whether we regard the book as the work of an inspired or of an ordinary man, it may well challenge comparison with any European collection of "wise sayings."

THE DHAMMAPADA

CHAPTER I

THE TWIN-VERSES

All that we are is the result of what we have thought: it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with an evil thought, pain follows him, as the wheel follows the foot of the ox that draws the carriage.

All that we are is the result of what we have thought: it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with a pure thought, happiness follows him, like a shadow that never leaves him.

"He abused me, he beat me, he defeated me, he robbed me"—in those who harbor such thoughts hatred will never cease.

"He abused me, he beat me, he defeated me, he robbed me"—in those who do not harbor such thoughts hatred will cease.

For hatred does not cease by hatred at any time: hatred ceases by love — this is an old rule.

The world does not know that we must all come to an end here; but those who know it, their quarrels cease at once.

He who lives looking for pleasures only, his senses uncontrolled, immoderate in his food, idle, and weak, Mara (the tempter) will certainly overthrow him, as the wind throws down a weak tree.

He who lives without looking for pleasures, his senses well controlled, moderate in his food, faithful and strong, him Mara will certainly not overthrow, any more than the wind throws down a rocky mountain.

He who wishes to put on the yellow dress without having cleansed himself from sin, who disregards also temperance and truth, is unworthy of the yellow dress.

But he who has cleansed himself from sin is well grounded in all virtues, and endowed also with temperance and truth: he is indeed worthy of the yellow dress.

They who imagine truth in untruth, and see untruth in truth, never arrive at truth, but follow vain desires.

They who know truth in truth, and untruth in untruth, arrive at truth, and follow true desires.

As rain breaks through an ill-thatched house, passion will break through an unreflecting mind.

As rain does not break through a well-thatched house, passion will not break through a well-reflecting mind.

The evil-doer mourns in this world, and he mourns in the next; he mourns in both. He mourns and suffers when he sees the evil result of his own work.

The virtuous man delights in this world, and he delights in the next; he delights in both. He delights and rejoices, when he sees the purity of his own work.

The evil-doer suffers in this world, and he suffers in the next; he suffers in both. He suffers when he thinks of the evil he has done; he suffers more when going on the evil path.

The virtuous man is happy in this world, and he is happy in the next; he is happy in both. He is happy when he thinks of the good he has done; he is still more happy when going on the good path.

The thoughtless man, even if he can recite a large portion of the law, but is not a doer of it, has no share in the priesthood, but is like a cowherd counting the cows of others.

The follower of the law, even if he can recite only a small portion of the law, but having forsaken passion and hatred and foolishness, possesses true knowledge and serenity of mind, he, caring for nothing in this world or that to come, has indeed a share in the priesthood.

CHAPTER II

ON EARNESTNESS

Earnestness is the path of immortality (Nirvana), thoughtlessness the path of death. Those who are in earnest

do not die; those who are thoughtless are as if dead already.

Having understood this clearly, those who are advanced in earnestness delight in earnestness, and rejoice in the knowledge of the elect.

These wise people, meditative, steady, always possessed of strong powers, attain to Nirvana, the highest happiness.

If an earnest person has roused himself, if he is not forgetful, if his deeds are pure, if he acts with consideration, if he restrains himself, and lives according to law — then his glory will increase.

By rousing himself, by earnestness, by restraint and control, the wise man may make for himself an island which no flood can overwhelm.

Fools follow after vanity. The wise man keeps earnestness as his best jewel.

Follow not after vanity, nor after the enjoyment of love and lust! He who is earnest and meditative obtains ample joy.

When the learned man drives away vanity by earnestness, he, the wise, climbing the terraced heights of wisdom, looks down upon the fools: free from sorrow he looks upon the sorrowing crowd, as one that stands on a mountain looks down upon them that stand upon the plain.

Earnest among the thoughtless, awake among the sleepers, the wise man advances like a racer, leaving behind the hack.

By earnestness did Maghavan (Indra) rise to the lordship of the gods. People praise earnestness; thoughtlessness is always blamed.

A bhikku¹ who delights in earnestness, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness, moves about like fire, burning all his fetters, small or large.

A bhikku who delights in reflection, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness, can not fall away from his perfect state — he is close upon Nirvana.

¹ A Buddhist monk, who is pledged to poverty.

CHAPTER III

THOUGHT

As a fletcher makes straight his arrow, a wise man makes straight his trembling and unsteady thought, which is difficult to guard, difficult to hold back.

As a fish taken from his watery home and thrown on the dry ground, our thought trembles all over in order to escape the dominion of Mara, the tempter.

It is good to tame the mind, which is difficult to hold in, and flighty, rushing wherever it listeth; a tamed mind brings happiness.

Let the wise man guard his thoughts, for they are difficult to perceive, very artful, and they rush wherever they list: thoughts well guarded bring happiness.

Those who bridle their mind which travels far, moves about alone, is without a body, and hides in the chamber of the heart, will be free from the bonds of Mara, the tempter.

If a man's faith is unsteady, if he does not know the true law, if his peace of mind is troubled, his knowledge will never be perfect.

If a man's thoughts are not dissipated, if his mind is not perplexed, if he has ceased to think of good or evil, then there is no fear for him while he is watchful.

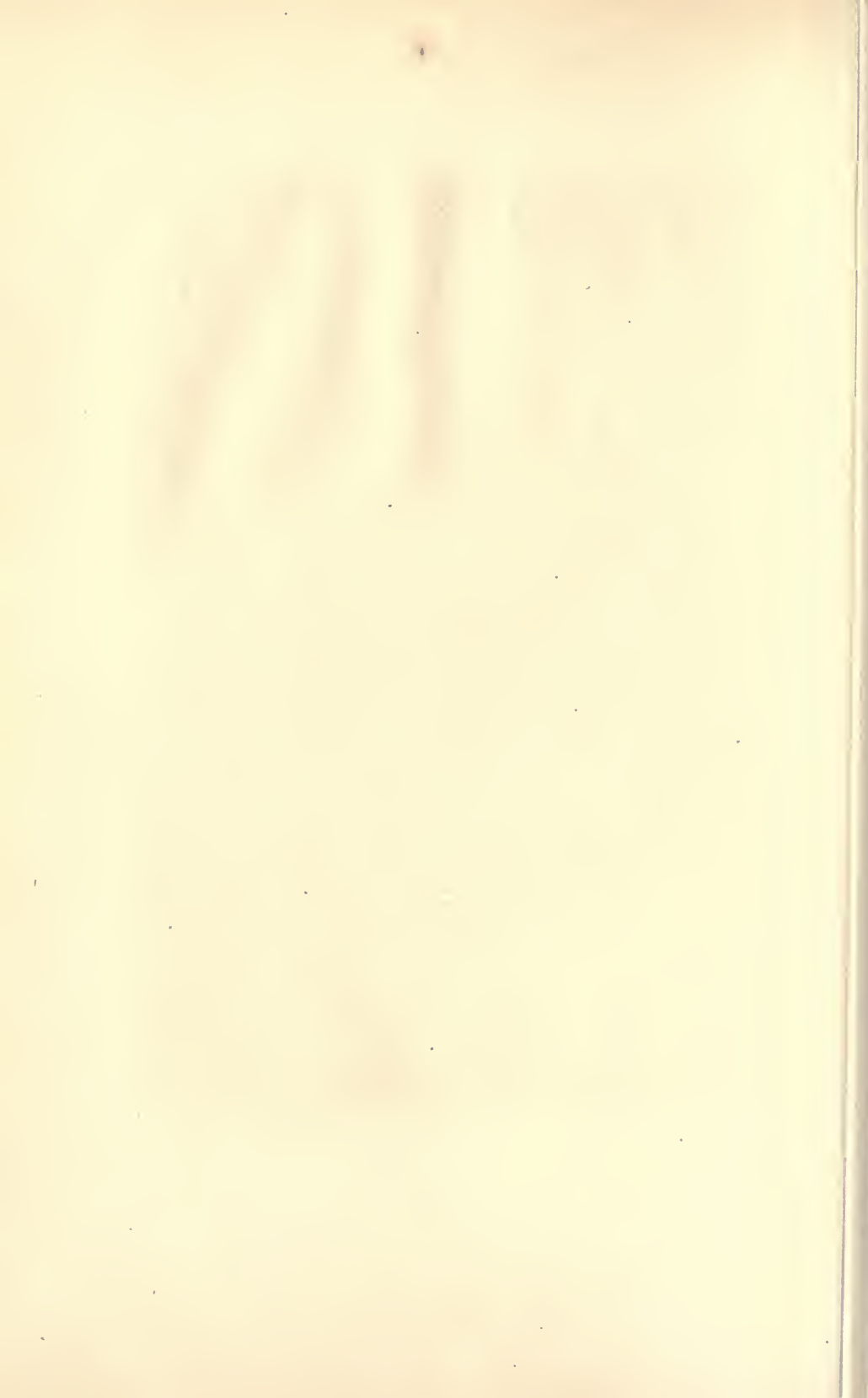
Knowing that this body is fragile like a jar, and making his thought firm like a fortress, one should attack Mara, the tempter, with the weapon of knowledge, one should watch him when conquered, and should never rest.

Before long, alas! this body will lie on the earth, despised, without understanding, like a useless log.

Whatever a hater may do to a hater, or an enemy to an enemy, a wrongly directed mind will do him greater mischief.

Not a mother, not a father, will do so much, nor any other relatives; a well-directed mind will do us greater service.





CHAPTER IV

FLOWERS

Who shall overcome this earth, and the world of Yama, the lord of the departed, and the world of the gods? Who shall find out the plainly shown path of virtue, as a clever man finds the right flower?

The disciple will overcome the earth, and the world of Yama, and the world of the gods. The disciple will find out the plainly shown path of virtue, as a clever man finds the right flower.

He who knows that this body is like froth, and has learned that it is as unsubstantial as a mirage, will break the flower-pointed arrow of Mara, and never see the king of death.

Death carries off a man who is gathering flowers, and whose mind is distracted, as a flood carries off a sleeping village.

Death subdues a man who is gathering flowers, and whose mind is distracted, before he is satiated in his pleasures.

As the bee collects nectar and departs without injuring the flower, or its color or scent, so let a sage dwell in his village.

Not the perversities of others, not their sins of commission or omission, but his own misdeeds and negligences should a sage take notice of.

Like a beautiful flower, full of color, but without scent, are the fine but fruitless words of him who does not act accordingly.

But, like a beautiful flower, full of color and full of scent, are the fine and fruitful words of him who acts accordingly.

As many kinds of wreaths can be made from a heap of flowers, so many good things may be achieved by a mortal when once he is born.

The scent of flowers does not travel against the wind, nor that of sandalwood, or of Tagara and Mallika flowers; but the odor of good people travels even against the wind; a good man pervades every place.

Sandalwood or Tagara, a lotus-flower, or a Vassiki, among these sorts of perfumes, the perfume of virtue is unsurpassed.

Mean is the scent that comes from Tagara and sandalwood; the perfume of those who possess virtue rises up to the gods as the highest.

Of the people who possess these virtues, who live without thoughtlessness, and who are emancipated through true knowledge, Mara, the tempter, never finds the way.

As on a heap of rubbish cast upon the highway the lily will grow full of sweet perfume and delight, thus among those who are mere rubbish the disciple of the truly enlightened Buddha shines forth by his knowledge above the blinded worldling.

CHAPTER V

THE FOOL

Long is the night to him who is awake; long is a mile to him who is tired; long is life to the foolish who do not know the true law.

If a traveler does not meet with one who is his better, or his equal, let him firmly keep to his solitary journey; there is no companionship with a fool.

"These sons belong to me, and this wealth belongs to me," with such thoughts a fool is tormented. He himself does not belong to himself; how much less sons and wealth?

The fool who knows his foolishness is wise at least so far. But a fool who thinks himself wise, he is called a fool indeed.

If a fool be associated with a wise man even all his life, he will perceive the truth as little as a spoon perceives the taste of soup.

If an intelligent man be associated for one minute only with a wise man, he will soon perceive the truth, as the tongue perceives the taste of soup.

Fools of poor understanding have themselves for their greatest enemies, for they do evil deeds which bear bitter fruits.

That deed is not well done of which a man must repent, and the reward of which he receives crying and with a tearful face.

No, that deed is well done of which a man does not repent, and the reward of which he receives gladly and cheerfully.

As long as the evil deed done does not bear fruit, the fool thinks it is like honey; but when it ripens, then the fool suffers grief.

Let a fool month after month eat his food (like an ascetic) with the tip of a blade of Kusa-grass, yet is he not worth the sixteenth particle of those who have well weighed the law.

An evil deed, like newly drawn milk, does not turn suddenly; smoldering, like fire covered by ashes, it follows the fool.

And when the evil deed, after it has become known, turns to sorrow for the fool, then it destroys his bright lot; nay, it cleaves his head.

Let the fool wish for a false reputation, for precedence among the bhikkus, for lordship in the convents, for worship among other people!

"May both the layman and he who has left the world think that this is done by me; may they be subject to me in everything which is to be done or is not to be done," thus is the mind of the fool, and his desire and pride increase.

"One is the road that leads to wealth, another the road that leads to Nirvana"—if the bhikku, the disciple of Buddha, has learned this, he will not yearn for honor; he will strive after separation from the world.

CHAPTER VI

THE WISE MAN

If you see a man who shows you what is to be avoided, who administers reproofs, and is intelligent, follow that wise man as you would one who tells of hidden treasures; it will be better, not worse, for him who follows him.

Let him admonish, let him teach, let him forbid what is

improper! — he will be beloved of the good, by the bad he will be hated.

Do not have evil-doers for friends, do not have low people for friends: have virtuous people for friends; have for friends the best of men.

He who drinks in the law lives happily with a serene mind: the sage rejoices always in the law, as preached by the elect.

Well-makers lead the water wherever they like; fletchers bend the arrow; carpenters bend a log of wood; wise people fashion themselves.

As a solid rock is not shaken by the wind, wise people falter not amid blame and praise.

Wise people, after they have listened to the laws, become serene, like a deep, smooth, and still lake.

Good men indeed walk warily under all circumstances; good men speak not out of a desire for sensual gratification; whether touched by happiness or sorrow, wise people never appear elated or depressed.

If, whether for his own sake, or for the sake of others, a man wishes neither for a son, nor for wealth, nor for lordship, and if he does not wish for his own success by unfair means, then he is good, wise, and virtuous.

Few are there among men who arrive at the other shore (become Arahats); the other people here run up and down the shore.

But those who, when the law has been well preached to them, follow the law, will pass over the dominion of death, however difficult to cross.

A wise man should leave the dark state of ordinary life, and follow the bright state of the bhikku. After going from his home to a homeless state, he should in his retirement look for enjoyment where enjoyment seemed difficult. Leaving all pleasures behind, and calling nothing his own, the wise man should purge himself from all the troubles of the mind.

Those whose mind is well grounded in the seven elements of knowledge, who without clinging to anything rejoice in freedom from attachment, whose appetites have been con-

quered, and who are full of light, they are free even in this world.

CHAPTER VII

THE VENERABLE

There is no suffering for him who has finished his journey, and abandoned grief, who has freed himself on all sides, and thrown off all fetters.

They exert themselves with their thoughts well-collected, they do not tarry in their abode; like swans who have left their lake, they leave their house and home.

Men who have no riches, who live on recognized food, who have perceived void and unconditioned freedom (Nirvana), their path is difficult to understand, like that of birds in the air.

He whose appetites are stilled, who is not absorbed in enjoyment, who has perceived void and unconditioned freedom (Nirvana), his path is difficult to understand, like that of birds in the air.

The gods even envy him whose senses, like horses well broken in by the driver, have been subdued, who is free from pride, and free from appetites; such a one who does his duty is tolerant like the earth, or like a threshold; he is like a lake without mud; no new births are in store for him.

His thought is quiet, quiet are his word and deed, when he has obtained freedom by true knowledge, when he has thus become a quiet man.

The man who is free from credulity, but knows the uncreated, who has cut all ties, removed all temptations, renounced all desires, he is the greatest of men.

In a hamlet or in a forest, on sea or on dry land, wherever venerable persons (Arahanta) dwell, that place is delightful.

Forests are delightful; where the world finds no delight, there the passionless will find delight, for they look not for pleasures.

CHAPTER VIII

THE THOUSANDS

Even though a speech be a thousand (of words), but made up of senseless words, one word of sense is better, which, if a man hears, he becomes quiet.

Even though a *Gatha* (poem) be a thousand (of words), but made up of senseless words, one word of a *Gatha* is better, which, if a man hears, he becomes quiet.

Though a man recite a hundred *Gathas* made up of senseless words, one word of the law is better, which, if a man hears, he becomes quiet.

If one man conquer in battle a thousand times a thousand men, and if another conquer himself, he is the greatest of conquerors.

One's own self conquered is better than all other people; not even a god, a Gandharva, not Mara (with Bráhmâ), could change into defeat the victory of a man who has vanquished himself, and always lives under restraint.

If a man for a hundred years sacrifice month by month with a thousand, and if he but for one moment pay homage to a man whose soul is grounded in true knowledge, better is that homage than a sacrifice for a hundred years.

If a man for a hundred years worship Agni (fire) in the forest, and if he but for one moment pay homage to a man whose soul is grounded in true knowledge, better is that homage than sacrifice for a hundred years.

Whatever a man sacrifice in this world as an offering or as an obligation for a whole year in order to gain merit, the whole of it is not worth a quarter of a farthing; reverence shown to the righteous is better.

He who always greets and constantly reveres the aged, four things will increase to him: life, beauty, happiness, power.

But he who lives a hundred years, vicious and unrestrained, a life of one day is better if a man is virtuous and reflecting.

And he who lives a hundred years, ignorant and unrestrained, a life of one day is better if a man is wise and reflecting.

And he who lives a hundred years, idle and weak, a life of one day is better if a man has attained firm strength.

And he who lives a hundred years, not seeing beginning and end, a life of one day is better if a man sees beginning and end.

And he who lives a hundred years, not seeing the immortal place, a life of one day is better if a man sees the immortal place.

And he who lives a hundred years, not seeing the highest law, a life of one day is better if a man sees the highest law.

CHAPTER IX

EVIL

A man should hasten toward the good, and should keep his thought away from evil; if a man does what is good slothfully, his mind delights in evil.

If a man commits a sin, let him not do it again; let him not delight in sin: the accumulation of evil is painful.

If a man does what is good, let him do it again; let him delight in it: the accumulation of good is delightful.

Even an evil-doer sees happiness so long as his evil deed does not ripen; but when his evil deed ripens, then does the evil-doer see evil.

Even a good man sees evil days so long as his good deed does not ripen; but when his good deed ripens, then does the good man see good things.

Let no man think lightly of evil, saying in his heart, It will not come nigh unto me. Even by the falling of water-drops a water-pot is filled; the fool becomes full of evil, even if he gather it little by little.

Let no man think lightly of good, saying in his heart, It will not come nigh unto me. Even by the falling of water-drops a water-pot is filled; the wise man becomes full of good, even if he gather it little by little.

Let a man avoid evil deeds, as a merchant, if he has few companions and carries much wealth, avoids a dangerous road; as a man who loves life avoids poison.

He who has no wound on his hand may touch poison with his hand; poison does not affect one who has no wound; nor is there evil for one who does not commit evil.

If a man offend a harmless, pure, and innocent person, the evil falls back upon that fool, like light dust thrown up against the wind.

Some people are born again; evil-doers go to hell; righteous people go to heaven; those who are free from all worldly desires attain Nirvana.

Not in the sky, not in the midst of the sea, not if we enter into the clefts of the mountains, is there known a spot in the whole world where a man might be freed from an evil deed.

Not in the sky, not in the midst of the sea, not if we enter into the clefts of the mountains, is there known a spot in the whole world where death could not overcome the mortal.

CHAPTER X

PUNISHMENT

All men tremble at punishment, all men fear death; remember that you are like unto them, and do not kill, nor cause slaughter.

All men tremble at punishment, all men love life; remember that thou art like unto them, and do not kill, nor cause slaughter.

He who, seeking his own happiness, punishes or kills beings who also long for happiness, will not find happiness after death.

He who, seeking his own happiness, does not punish or kill beings who also long for happiness, will find happiness after death.

Do not speak harshly to any one; those who are spoken to will answer thee in the same way. Angry speech is painful: blows for blows will touch thee.

If, like a shattered metal plate (gong), thou utter nothing, then thou hast reached Nirvana; anger is not known to thee.

As a cowherd with his staff drives his cows into the stable, so do Age and Death drive the life of men.

A fool does not know when he commits his evil deeds: but the wicked man burns by his own deeds, as if burned by fire.

He who inflicts pain on innocent and harmless persons will soon come to one of these ten states:

He will have cruel suffering, loss, injury of the body, heavy affliction, or loss of mind.

A misfortune coming from the king, or a fearful accusation, or loss of relations, or destruction of treasures.

Lightning-fire will burn his houses; and when his body is destroyed, the fool will go to hell.

Not nakedness, not platted hair, not dirt, not fasting, or lying on the earth, not rubbing with dust, not sitting motionless, can purify a mortal who has not overcome desires.

He who, though dressed in fine apparel, exercises tranquillity, is quiet, subdued, restrained, chaste, and has ceased to find fault with all other beings, he indeed is a brahmin, an ascetic (*sramana*), a friar (*bhikku*).

Is there in this world any man so restrained by shame that he does not provoke reproof, as a noble horse the whip?

Like a noble horse when touched by the whip, be ye strenuous and eager, and by faith, by virtue, by energy, by meditation, by discernment of the law, you will overcome this great pain, perfect in knowledge and in behavior, and never forgetful.

Well-makers lead the water wherever they like; fletchers bend the arrow; carpenters bend a log of wood; good people fashion themselves.

CHAPTER XI

OLD AGE

How is there laughter, how is there joy, as this world is always burning? Do you not seek a light, ye who are surrounded by darkness?

Look at this dressed-up lump, covered with wounds, joined together, sickly, full of many schemes, but which has no strength, no hold!

This body is wasted, full of sickness, and frail; this heap of corruption breaks to pieces, life indeed ends in death.

After one has looked at those gray bones, thrown away like gourds in the autumn, what pleasure is there left in life!

After a stronghold has been made of the bones, it is covered with flesh and blood, and there dwell in it old age and death, pride and deceit.

The brilliant chariots of kings are destroyed, the body also approaches destruction, but the virtue of good people never approaches destruction — thus do the good say to the good.

A man who has learned little grows old like an ox; his flesh grows, but his knowledge does not grow.

Looking for the maker of this tabernacle, I have run through a course of many births, not finding him; and painful is birth again and again. But now, maker of the tabernacle, thou hast been seen; thou shalt not make up this tabernacle again. All thy rafters are broken, thy ridge-pole is sundered; the mind approaching the Eternal (*visankhara, nirvana*), has attained to the extinction of all desires.

Men who have not observed proper discipline, and have not gained wealth in their youth, perish like old herons in a lake without fish.

Men who have not observed proper discipline, and have not gained wealth in their youth, lie, like broken bows, sighing after the past.

CHAPTER XII

SELF

If a man hold himself dear, let him watch himself carefully; during one at least out of the three watches a wise man should be watchful.

Let each man direct himself first to what is proper, then let him teach others; thus a wise man will not suffer.

If a man make himself as he teaches others to be, then, being himself well subdued, he may subdue others; for one's own self is difficult to subdue.

Self is the lord of self, who else could be the lord? With self well subdued, a man finds a lord such as few can find.

The evil done by one's self, self-forgotten, self-bred, crushes the foolish, as a diamond breaks even a precious stone.

He whose wickedness is very great brings himself down to that state where his enemy wishes him to be, as a creeper does with the tree which it surrounds.

Bad deeds, and deeds hurtful to ourselves, are easy to do; what is beneficial and good, that is very difficult to do.

The foolish man who scorns the rule of the venerable (Arahat), of the elect (Ariha), of the virtuous, and follows a false doctrine, he bears fruit to his own destruction, like the fruits of the Katthaka reed.

By one's self the evil is done, by one's self one suffers; by one's self evil is left undone, by one's self one is purified. The pure and the impure stand and fall by themselves; no one can purify another.

Let no one forget his own duty for the sake of another's, however great; let a man, after he has discerned his own duty, be always attentive to his duty.

CHAPTER XIII

THE WORLD

Do not follow the evil law! Do not live on in thoughtlessness! Do not follow false doctrine! Be not a friend of the world.

Rouse thyself! do not be idle! Follow the law of virtue! The virtuous rest in bliss in this world and in the next.

Follow the law of virtue; do not follow that of sin. The virtuous rest in bliss in this world and in the next.

Look upon the world as you would on a bubble, look upon it as you would on a mirage: the king of death does not see him who thus looks down upon the world.

Come, look at this world, glittering like a royal chariot; the foolish are immersed in it, but the wise do not touch it.

He who formerly was reckless, and afterward became sober, brightens up this world, like the moon when freed from clouds.

He whose evil deeds are covered by good deeds brightens up this world, like the moon when freed from clouds.

This world is dark, few only can see here; a few only go to heaven, like birds escaped from the net.

The swans go on the path of the sun, they go miraculously through the ether; the wise are led out of this world, when they have conquered Mara and his train.

If a man has transgressed the one law, and speaks lies, and scoffs at another world, there is no evil he will not do.

The uncharitable do not go to the world of the gods; fools only do not praise liberality; a wise man rejoices in liberality, and through it becomes blessed in the other world.

Better than sovereignty over the earth, better than going to heaven, better than lordship over all worlds, is the reward of Sotapatti, the first step in holiness.

CHAPTER XIV

THE BUDDHA — THE AWAKENED

He whose conquest can not be conquered again, into whose conquest no one in this world enters, by what track can you lead him, the Awakened, the Omniscient, the trackless?

He whom no desire with its snares and poisons can lead astray, by what track can you lead him, the Awakened, the Omniscient, the trackless?

Even the gods envy those who are awakened and not forgetful, who are given to meditation, who are wise, and who delight in the repose of retirement from the world.

Difficult to obtain is the conception of men, difficult is the life of mortals, difficult is the hearing of the True Law,

difficult is the birth of the Awakened (the attainment of Buddhahood).

Not to commit any sin, to do good, and to purify one's mind — that is the teaching of all the Awakened.

The Awakened call patience the highest penance, long-suffering the highest Nirvana; for he is not an anchorite (*pravragita*) who strikes others, he is not an ascetic (*sramana*) who insults others.

Not to blame, not to strike, to live restrained under the law, to be moderate in eating, to sleep and sit alone, and to dwell on the highest thoughts — this is the teaching of the Awakened.

There is no satisfying lusts, even by a shower of gold pieces; he who knows that lusts have a short taste and cause pain, he is wise; even in heavenly pleasures he finds no satisfaction, the disciple who is fully awakened delights only in the destruction of all desires.

Men, driven by fear, go to many a refuge, to mountains and forests, to groves and sacred trees.

But that is not a safe refuge, that is not the best refuge; a man is not delivered from all pains after having gone to that refuge.

He who takes refuge with Buddha, the Law, and the Church; he who, with clear understanding, sees the four holy truths: pain, the origin of pain, the destruction of pain, and the eightfold holy way that leads to the quieting of pain — that is the safe refuge, that is the best refuge; having gone to that refuge, a man is delivered from all pain.

A supernatural person (a Buddha) is not easily found: he is not born everywhere. Wherever such a sage is born, that race prospers.

Happy is the arising of the Awakened, happy is the teaching of the True Law, happy is peace in the Church, happy is the devotion of those who are at peace.

He who pays homage to those who deserve homage, whether the awakened (Buddha) or their disciples, those who have overcome the host of evils, and crossed the flood of sorrow, he who pays homage to such as have found deliv-

erance and know no fear, his merit can never be measured by any one.

CHAPTER XV

HAPPINESS

We live happily indeed, not hating those who hate us! among men who hate us we dwell free from hatred!

We live happily indeed, free from ailments among the ailing! among men who are ailing let us dwell free from ailments!

We live happily indeed, free from greed among the greedy! among men who are greedy let us dwell free from greed!

We live happily indeed, though we call nothing our own! We shall be like the bright gods, feeding on happiness!

Victory breeds hatred, for the conquered is unhappy. He who has given up both victory and defeat, he, the contented, is happy.

There is no fire like passion; there is no losing throw like hatred; there is no pain like this body; there is no happiness higher than rest.

Hunger is the worst of diseases, the elements of the body the greatest evil; if one knows this truly, that is Nirvana, the highest happiness.

Health is the greatest of gifts, contentedness the best riches; trust is the best of relationships, Nirvana the highest happiness.

He who has tasted the sweetness of solitude and tranquillity is free from fear and free from sin, while he tastes the sweetness of drinking in the law.

The sight of the elect (Ariha) is good, to live with them is always happiness; if a man does not see fools, he will be truly happy.

He who walks in the company of fools suffers a long way; company with fools, as with an enemy, is always painful; company with the wise is pleasure, like meeting with kinsfolk.

Therefore, one ought to follow the wise, the intelligent,

the learned, the much enduring, the dutiful, the elect; one ought to follow such a good and wise man, as the moon follows the path of the stars.

CHAPTER XVI

PLEASURE

He who gives himself to vanity, and does not give himself to meditation, forgetting the real aim of life and grasping at pleasure, will in time envy him who has exerted himself in meditation.

Let no man ever cling to what is pleasant, or to what is unpleasant. Not to see what is pleasant is pain, and it is pain to see what is unpleasant.

Let, therefore, no man love anything; loss of the beloved is evil. Those who love nothing, and hate nothing, have no fetters.

From pleasure comes grief, from pleasure comes fear; he who is free from pleasure knows neither grief nor fear.

From affection comes grief, from affection comes fear; he who is free from affection knows neither grief nor fear.

From lust comes grief, from lust comes fear; he who is free from lust knows neither grief nor fear.

From love comes grief, from love comes fear; he who is free from love knows neither grief nor fear.

From greed comes grief, from greed comes fear; he who is free from greed knows neither grief nor fear.

He who possesses virtue and intelligence, who is just, speaks the truth, and does what is his own business, him the world will hold dear.

He in whom a desire for the Ineffable (Nirvana) has sprung up, who in his mind is satisfied, and whose thoughts are not bewildered by love, he is called *urdhvāmsrotas* (carried upward by the stream).

Kinsmen, friends, and lovers salute a man who has been long away, and returns safe from afar.

In like manner his good works receive him who has done

good, and has gone from this world to the other — as kinsmen receive a friend on his return.

CHAPTER XVII

ANGER

Let a man leave anger, let him forsake pride, let him overcome all bondage! No sufferings befall the man who is not attached to name and form, and who calls nothing his own.

He who holds back rising anger like a rolling chariot, him I call a real driver; other people are but holding the reins.

Let a man overcome anger by love, let him overcome evil by good; let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth!

Speak the truth, do not yield to anger; give, if thou art asked for little; by these three steps thou wilt go near the gods.

The sages who injure nobody, and who always control their body, they will go to the unchangeable place (Nirvana), where, if they have gone, they will suffer no more.

Those who are ever watchful, who study day and night, and who strive after Nirvana, their passions will come to an end.

This is an old saying, O Atula: this is not as if of to-day: "They blame him who sits silent, they blame him who speaks much, they also blame him who says little; there is no one on earth who is not blamed."

There never was, there never will be, nor is there now, a man who is always blamed, or a man who is always praised.

But he whom those who discriminate praise continually day after day, as without blemish, wise, rich in knowledge and virtue, who would dare to blame him, like a coin made of gold from the Gambu river? Even the gods praise him, he is praised even by Brāhmā.

Beware of bodily anger, and control thy body! Leave the sins of the body, and with thy body practise virtue!

Beware of the anger of the tongue, and control thy tongue!

Leave the sins of the tongue, and practise virtue with thy tongue!

Beware of the anger of the mind, and control thy mind!
Leave the sins of the mind, and practise virtue with thy mind!

The wise who control their body, who control their tongue,
the wise who control their mind, are indeed well controlled.

CHAPTER XVIII

IMPURITY

Thou art now like a sear leaf, the messengers of death (Yama) have come near to thee; thou standest at the door of thy departure, and thou hast no provision for thy journey.

Make thyself an island, work hard, be wise! When thy impurities are blown away, and thou art free from guilt, thou wilt enter into the heavenly world of the elect (Ariha).

Thy life has come to an end, thou art come near to death (Yama), there is no resting-place for thee on the road, and thou hast no provision for thy journey.

Make thyself an island, work hard, be wise! When thy impurities are blown away, and thou art free from guilt, thou wilt not enter again into birth and decay.

Let a wise man blow off the impurities of himself, as a smith blows off the impurities of silver, one by one, little by little, and from time to time.

As the impurity which springs from the iron, when it springs from it, destroys it; thus do a transgressor's own works lead him to the evil path.

The taint of prayers is non-repetition; the taint of houses, non-repair; the taint of complexion is sloth; the taint of a watchman, thoughtlessness.

Bad conduct is the taint of woman, niggardliness the taint of a benefactor; tainted are all evil ways in this world and in the next.

But there is a taint worse than all taints — ignorance is the greatest taint. O mendicants! throw off that taint, and become taintless!

Life is easy to live for a man who is without shame: a crow
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hero, a mischief-maker, an insulting, bold, and wretched fellow.

But life is hard to live for a modest man, who always looks for what is pure, who is disinterested, quiet, spotless, and intelligent.

He who destroys life, who speaks untruth, who in the world takes what is not given him, who goes to another man's wife; and the man who gives himself to drinking intoxicating liquors, he, even in this world, digs up his own root.

O man, know this, that the unrestrained are in a bad state; take care that greediness and vice do not bring thee to grief for a long time!

The world gives according to their faith or according to their pleasure: if a man frets about the food and the drink given to others, he will find no rest either by day or by night.

He in whom that feeling is destroyed, and taken out with the very root, finds rest by day and by night.

There is no fire like passion, there is no shark like hatred, there is no snare like folly, there is no torrent like greed.

The fault of others is easily perceived, but that of one's self is difficult to perceive; a man winnows his neighbor's faults like chaff, but his own fault he hides, as a cheat hides the bad die from the player.

If a man looks after the faults of others, and is always inclined to be offended, his own passions will grow, and he is far from the destruction of passions.

There is no path through the air, a man is not a Samana outwardly. The world delights in vanity, the Tathagatas (the Buddhas) are free from vanity.

There is no path through the air, a man is not a Samana outwardly. No creatures are eternal; but the awakened (Buddha) are never shaken.

CHAPTER XIX

THE JUST

A man is not just if he carries a matter by violence; no, he who distinguishes both right and wrong, who is learned

and guides others, not by violence, but by the same law, being a guardian of the law and intelligent, he is called just.

A man is not learned because he talks much; he who is patient, free from hatred and fear — he is called learned.

A man is not a supporter of the law because he talks much; even if a man has learned little, but sees the law bodily, he is a supporter of the law, a man who never neglects the law.

A man is not an elder because his head is gray; his age may be ripe, but he is called "Old-in-vain."

He in whom there are truth, virtue, pity, restraint, moderation, he who is free from impurity and is wise — he is called an elder.

An envious, stingy, dishonest man does not become respectable by means of much talking only, or by the beauty of his complexion.

He in whom all this is destroyed, and taken out with the very root, he, when freed from hatred, is called respectable.

Not by tonsure does an undisciplined man who speaks falsehood become a Samana; can a man be a Samana who is still held captive by desire and greediness?

He who always quiets the evil, whether small or large, he is called a Samana (a quiet man), because he has quieted all evil.

A man is not a mendicant (bhikku) simply because he asks others for alms; he who adopts the whole law is a bhikku, not he who only begs.

He who is above good and evil, who is chaste, who with care passes through the world, he indeed is called a bhikku.

A man is not a Muni because he observes silence if he is foolish and ignorant; but the wise who, as with the balance, chooses the good and avoids evil, he is a Muni, and is a Muni thereby; he who in this world weighs both sides is called a Muni.

A man is not an elect (Ariha) because he injures living creatures; because he has pity on all living creatures, therefore is a man called Ariha.

Not only by discipline and vows, not only by much learning, not by entering into a trance, not by sleeping alone, do I earn

the happiness of release which no worldling can know. O bhikku, he who has obtained the extinction of desires has obtained confidence.

CHAPTER XX

THE WAY

The best of ways is the eightfold ; the best of truths the four words ; the best of virtues passionlessness ; the best of men he who has eyes to see.

This is the way, there is no other that leads to the purifying of intelligence. Go on this path ! This is the confusion of Mara, the tempter.

If you go on this way, you will make an end of pain ! The way preached by me, when I had understood the removal of the thorns in the flesh.

You yourself must make an effort. The Tathagatas (Buddhas) are only preachers. The thoughtful who enter the way are freed from the bondage of Mara.

"All created things perish." He who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain ; this is the way to purity.

"All created things are grief and pain." He who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain ; this is the way that leads to purity.

"All forms are unreal." He who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain ; this is the way that leads to purity.

He who does not rouse himself when it is time to rise, who though young and strong, is full of sloth, whose will and thought are weak, that lazy and idle man never finds the way to knowledge.

Watching his speech, well restrained in mind, let a man never commit any wrong with his body ! Let a man but keep these three roads of action clear, and he will achieve the way which is taught by the wise.

Through zeal knowledge is gained, through lack of zeal knowledge is lost ; let a man who knows this double path of gain and loss thus place himself that knowledge may grow.

Cut down the whole forest of desires; not a tree only! Danger comes out of the forest of desires. When you have cut down both the forest of desires and its undergrowth, then, bhikkus, you will be rid of the forest and of desires!

So long as the desire of man toward women, even the smallest, is not destroyed, so long is his mind in bondage, as the calf that drinks milk is to its mother.

Cut out the love of self, like an autumn lotus, with thy hand! Cherish the road of peace. Nirvana has been shown by Sugata (Buddha).

"Here I shall dwell in the rain, here in winter and summer," thus the fool meditates, and does not think of death.

Death comes and carries off that man, honored, for his children and flocks, his mind distracted, as a flood carries off a sleeping village.

Sons are no help, nor a father, nor relations; there is no help from kinsfolk for one whom death has seized.

A wise and well-behaved man who knows the meaning of this should quickly clear the way that leads to Nirvana.

CHAPTER XXI

MISCELLANEOUS

If by leaving a small pleasure one sees a great pleasure, let a wise man leave the small pleasure and look to the great.

He who, by causing pain to others, wishes to obtain pleasure for himself, he, entangled in the bonds of hatred, will never be free from hatred.

What ought to be done is neglected, what ought not to be done is done; the desires of unruly, thoughtless people are always increasing.

But they whose whole watchfulness is always directed to their body, who do not follow what ought not to be done, and who steadfastly do what ought to be done, the desires of such watchful and wise people will come to an end.

A true brahmin goes scathless, though he have killed father and mother, and two valiant kings, though he has destroyed a kingdom with all its subjects.

A true brahmin goes scathless, though he have killed father and mother, and two holy kings, and an eminent man besides.

The disciples of Gotama (Buddha) are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on Buddha.

The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on the law.

The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on the Church.

The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on their body.

The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their mind day and night always delights in compassion.

The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their mind day and night always delights in meditation.

It is hard to leave the world to become a friar, it is hard to enjoy the world; hard is the monastery, painful are the houses; painful it is to dwell with equals to share everything in common, and the itinerant mendicant is beset with pain. Therefore let no man be an itinerant mendicant, and he will not be beset with pain.

A man full of faith, if endowed with virtue and glory, is respected, whatever place he may choose.

Good people shine from afar, like the snowy mountains; bad people are not seen, like arrows shot by night.

Sitting alone, lying down alone, walking alone without ceasing, and alone subduing himself, let a man be happy near the edge of a forest.

CHAPTER XXII

THE DOWNWARD COURSE

He who says what is not goes to hell; he also who, having done a thing, says I have not done it. After death both are equal: they are men with evil deeds in the next world.

Many men whose shoulders are covered with the yellow gown are ill-conditioned and unrestrained; such evil-doers by their evil deeds go to hell.

Better it would be to swallow a heated iron ball, like flaring

fire, than that a bad, unrestrained fellow should live on the charity of the land.

Four things does a reckless man gain who covets his neighbor's wife — demerit, an uncomfortable bed, thirdly, punishment, and lastly, hell.

There is demerit, and the evil way to hell : there is the short pleasure of the frightened in the arms of the frightened, and the king imposes heavy punishment; therefore let no man think of his neighbor's wife.

As a grass-blade, if badly grasped, cuts the arm, badly-practised asceticism leads to hell.

An act carelessly performed, a broken vow, and hesitating obedience to discipline (*Bráhmâ-kariyam*) — all this brings no great reward.

If anything is to be done, let a man do it, let him attack it vigorously! A careless pilgrim only scatters the dust of his passions more widely.

An evil deed is better left undone, for a man repents of it afterward; a good deed is better done, for, having done it, one does not repent.

Like a well-guarded frontier fort, with defenses within and without, so let a man guard himself. Not a moment should escape, for they who allow the right moment to pass suffer pain when they are in hell.

They who are ashamed of what they ought not to be ashamed of, and are not ashamed of what they ought to be ashamed of, such men, embracing false doctrines, enter the evil path.

They who fear when they ought not to fear, and fear not when they ought to fear, such men, embracing false doctrines, enter the evil path.

They who see sin where there is no sin, and see no sin where there is sin, such men, embracing false doctrines, enter the evil path.

They who see sin where there is sin, and no sin where there is no sin, such men, embracing the true doctrine, enter the good path.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ELEPHANT

Silently I endured abuse as the elephant in battle endures the arrow sent from the bow: for the world is ill-natured.

They lead a tamed elephant to battle, the king mounts a tamed elephant; the tamed is the best among men, he who silently endures abuse.

Mules are good, if tamed, and noble Sindhu horses, and elephants with large tusks; but he who tames himself is better still.

For with these animals does no man reach the untrodden country (Nirvana), where a tamed man goes on a tamed animal — on his own well-tamed self.

The elephant called Dhanapalaka, his temples running with pungent sap, and who is difficult to hold, does not eat a morsel when bound; the elephant longs for the elephant grove.

If a man becomes fat and a great eater, if he is sleepy and rolls himself about, that fool, like a hog fed on grains, is born again and again.

This mind of mine went formerly wandering about as it liked, as it listed, as it pleased; but I shall now hold it in thoroughly, as the rider who holds the hook holds in the furious elephant.

Be not thoughtless; watch your thoughts! Draw yourself out of the evil way, like an elephant sunk in mud.

If a man find a prudent companion who walks with him, is wise, and lives soberly, he may walk with him, overcoming all dangers, happy, but considerate.

If a man find no prudent companion who walks with him, is wise, and lives soberly, let him walk alone, like a king who has left his conquered country behind — like an elephant in the forest.

It is better to live alone: there is no companionship with a fool; let a man walk alone, let him commit no sin, with a few wishes, like an elephant in the forest.

If the occasion arises, friends are pleasant; enjoyment is

pleasant, whatever be the cause; a good work is pleasant in the hour of death; the giving up of all grief is pleasant.

Pleasant in the world is the state of a mother, pleasant the state of a father, pleasant the state of a Samana, pleasant the state of a brahmin.

Pleasant is virtue lasting to old age, pleasant is a faith firmly rooted; pleasant is attainment of intelligence, pleasant is avoiding of sins.

CHAPTER XXIV

THIRST

The thirst of a thoughtless man grows like a creeper; he runs from life to life, like a monkey seeking fruit in the forest.

Whomsoever this fierce poisonous thirst overcomes, in this world, his sufferings increase like the abounding Birana grass.

But from him who overcomes this fierce thirst, difficult to be conquered in this world, sufferings fall off, like water-drops from a lotus-leaf.

This salutary word I tell you, "Do ye, as many as are here assembled, dig up the root of thirst, as he who wants the sweet-scented Usira root must dig up the Birana grass, that Mara, the tempter, may not crush you again and again, as the stream crushes the reeds."

As a tree, even though it has been cut down, is firm so long as its roots are safe, and grows again, thus, unless the feeders of thirst are destroyed, this pain of life will return again and again.

He whose thirty-six streams are strongly flowing in the channels of pleasure, the waves — his desires which are set on passion — will carry away that misguided man.

The channels run everywhere, the creeper of passion stands sprouting; if you see the creeper springing up, cut its root by means of knowledge.

A creature's pleasures are extravagant and luxurious;

given up to pleasure and deriving happiness, men undergo again and again birth and decay.

Beset with lust, men run about like a snared hare; held in fetters and bonds, they undergo pain for a long time, again and again.

Beset with lust, men run about like a snared hare; let therefore the mendicant drive out thirst, by striving after passionlessness for himself.

He who, having got rid of the forest of lust (after having reached Nirvana), gives himself over to forest-life (to lust), and who, when free from the forest (from lust), runs to the forest (to lust), look at that man! though free, he runs into bondage.

Wise people do not call that a strong fetter which is made of iron, wood, or hemp; passionately strong is the care for precious stones and rings, for sons and a wife.

That fetter wise people call strong which drags down, yields, but is difficult to undo; after having cut this at last, people leave the world, free from cares, and leaving the pleasures of love behind.

Those who are slaves to passions run down the stream of desires, as a spider runs down the web which he has made himself; when they have cut this, at last, wise people go onward, free from cares, leaving all pain behind.

Give up what is before, give up what is behind, give up what is between, when thou goest to the other shore of existence; if thy mind is altogether free, thou wilt not again enter into birth and decay.

If a man is tossed about by doubts, full of strong passions, and yearning only for what is delightful, his thirst will grow more and more, and he will indeed make his fetters strong.

If a man delights in quieting doubts, and, always reflecting, dwells on what is not delightful, he certainly will remove, nay, he will cut the fetter of Mara.

He who has reached the consummation, who does not tremble, who is without thirst and without sin, he has broken all the thorns of life: this will be his last body.

He who is without thirst and without affection, who under-

stands the words and their interpretation, who knows the order of letters (those which are before and which are after), he has received his last body, he is called the great sage, the great man.

"I have conquered all, I know all, in all conditions of life I am free from taint; I have left all, and through the destruction of thirst I am free; having learned myself, whom should I indicate as my teacher?"

The gift of the law exceeds all gifts; the sweetness of the law exceeds all sweetness; the delight in the law exceeds all delights; the extinction of thirst overcomes all pain.

Riches destroy the foolish, if they look not for the other shore; the foolish by his thirst for riches destroys himself, as if he were destroying others.

The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by passion: therefore a gift bestowed on the passionless brings great reward.

The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by hatred: therefore a gift bestowed on those who do not hate brings great reward.

The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by vanity: therefore a gift bestowed on those who are free from vanity brings great reward.

The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by lust: therefore a gift bestowed on those who are free from lust brings great reward.

CHAPTER XXV

THE BHIKKU

Restraint in the eye is good; good is restraint in the ear; in the nose restraint is good; good is restraint in the tongue.

In the body restraint is good; good is restraint in speech; in thought restraint is good; good is restraint in all things. A bhikku, restrained in all things, is freed from all pain.

He who controls his hand, he who controls his feet, he who controls his speech, he who is well controlled, he who delights

inwardly, who is collected, who is solitary and content, him they call bhikku.

The bhikku who controls his mouth, who speaks wisely and calmly, who teaches the meaning and the law, his word is sweet.

He who dwells in the law, delights in the law, meditates on the law, recollects the law: that bhikku will never fall away from the true law.

Let him not despise what he has received, nor ever envy others: a mendicant who envies others does not obtain peace of mind.

A bhikku who, though he receives little, does not despise what he has received, even the gods will praise him, if his life is pure, and if he is not slothful.

He who never identifies himself with name and form, and does not grieve over what is no more, he indeed is called a bhikku.

The bhikku who behaves with kindness, who is happy in the doctrine of Buddha, will reach the quiet Nirvana, happiness arising from the cessation of natural inclinations.

O bhikku, empty this boat! if emptied, it will go quickly; having cut off passion and hatred, thou wilt go to Nirvana.

Cut off the five fetters, leave the five, rise above the five. A bhikku, who has escaped from the five fetters, he is called Oghatinna —“ saved from the flood.”

Meditate, O bhikku, and be not heedless! Do not direct thy thought to what gives pleasure, that thou mayest not for thy heedlessness have to swallow the iron ball in hell, and that thou mayest not cry out when burning, “ This is pain.”

Without knowledge there is no meditation, without meditation there is no knowledge: he who has knowledge and meditation is near unto Nirvana.

A bhikku who has entered his empty house, and whose mind is tranquil, feels a more than human delight when he sees the law clearly.

As soon as he has considered the origin and destruction of the elements of the body, he finds happiness and joy which belong to those who know the immortal Nirvana.

And this is the beginning here for a wise bhikku: watchfulness over the senses, contentedness, restraint under the law; keep noble friends whose life is pure, and who are not slothful.

Let him live in charity, let him be perfect in his duties; then in the fulness of delight he will make an end of suffering.

As the Vassika plant sheds its withered flowers, men should shed passion and hatred, O ye bhikku.

The bhikku whose body and tongue and mind are quieted, who is collected, and has rejected the baits of the world, he is called quiet.

Rouse thyself by thyself, examine thyself by thyself, thus self-protected and attentive wilt thou live happily, O bhikku.

For self is the lord of self, self is the refuge of self; therefore curb thyself as the merchant curbs a noble horse.

The bhikku, full of delight, who is happy in the doctrine of Buddha will reach the quiet place (Nirvana), happiness consisting in the cessation of natural inclinations.

He who, even as a young bhikku, applies himself to the doctrine of Buddha, brightens up this world like the moon when free from clouds.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE BRAHMIN ²

Stop the stream valiantly, drive away the desires, O brahmin! When you have understood the destruction of all that was made, you will understand that which was not made.

If the brahmin has reached the other shore in both laws, in restraint and contemplation, all bonds vanish from him who has obtained knowledge.

He for whom there is neither the hither nor the farther shore, nor both, him, the fearless and unshackled, I call indeed a brahmin.

He who is thoughtful, blameless, settled, dutiful, without

² The brahmin was a priest by birth, a member of the highest caste, a learned man. The bhikku was not necessarily a brahmin, any follower of Buddha might become a bhikku, or mendicant monk.

passions, and who has attained the highest end, him I call indeed a brahmin.

The sun is bright by day, the moon shines by night, the warrior is bright in his armor, the brahmin is bright in his meditation; but Buddha, the Awakened, is bright with splendor day and night.

Because a man is rid of evil, therefore he is called brahmin; because he walks quietly, therefore he is called Samana; because he has sent away his own impurities, therefore he is called Pravragita (*Pabbagita*, "a pilgrim").

No one should attack a brahmin, but no brahmin, if attacked, should let himself fly at his aggressor! Woe to him who strikes a brahmin, more woe to him who flies at his aggressor!

It advantages a brahmin not a little if he holds his mind back from the pleasures of life; the more all wish to injure has vanished, the more all pain will cease.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who does not offend by body, word, or thought, and is controlled on these three points.

He from whom he may learn the law, as taught by the Well-awakened (Buddha), him let him worship assiduously, as the brahmin worships the sacrificial fire.

A man does not become a brahmin by his plaited hair, by his family, or by birth; in whom there is truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a brahmin.

What is the use of plaited hair, O fool! what of the raiment of goat-skins? Within thee there is ravening, but the outside thou makest clean.

The man who wears dirty raiments, who is emaciated and covered with veins, who meditates alone in the forest, him I call indeed a brahmin.

I do not call a man a brahmin because of his origin or of his mother. He is indeed arrogant, and he is wealthy: but the poor, who is free from all attachments, him I call indeed a brahmin.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who, after cutting the strap never trembles, is free from bonds, and unshackled.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who, after cutting all fetters,

and the thong, the rope with all that pertains to it, has destroyed all obstacles, and is awakened.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who, though he has committed no offense, endures reproach, stripes, and bonds; who has endurance for his force, and strength for his army.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who is free from anger, dutiful, virtuous, without appetites, who is subdued, and has received his last body.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who does not cling to sensual pleasures, like water on a lotus-leaf, like a mustard-seed on the point of a needle.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who, even here, knows the end of his own suffering, has put down his burden, and is unshackled.

Him I call indeed a brahmin whose knowledge is deep, who possesses wisdom, who knows the right way and the wrong, and has attained the highest end.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who keeps aloof both from laymen and from mendicants, who frequents no houses, and has but few desires.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who, without hurting any creatures, whether feeble or strong, does not kill nor cause slaughter.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who is tolerant with the intolerant, mild with the violent, and free from greed among the greedy.

Him I call indeed a brahmin from whom anger and hatred, pride and hypocrisy, have dropped like a mustard-seed from the point of a needle.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who utters true speech, instructive and free from harshness, so that he offend no one.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who takes nothing in the world that is not given him, be it long or short, small or large, good or bad.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who fosters no desires for this world or for the next, has no inclinations, and is unshackled.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who has no interests, and

when he has understood the truth, does not say How, how? and who has reached the depth of the Immortal.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who in this world has risen above both ties, good and evil, who is free from grief, from sin, and from impurity.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who is bright like the moon, pure, serene, undisturbed, and in whom all gaiety is extinct.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who has traversed this miry road, the impassable world, difficult to pass, and its vanity, who has gone through, and reached the other shore, is thoughtful, steadfast, free from doubts, free from attachment, and content.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who in this world, having abandoned all desires, travels about without a home, and in whom all concupiscence is extinct.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who, having abandoned all longings, travels about without a home, and in whom all covetousness is extinct.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who, after leaving all bondage to men, has risen above all bondage to the gods, and is free from all and every bondage.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who has left what gives pleasure and what gives pain, who is cold, and free from all germs of renewed life: the hero who has conquered all the worlds.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who knows the destruction and the return of beings everywhere, who is free from bondage, welfaring (*Sugata*), and awakened (Buddha).

Him I call indeed a brahmin whose path the gods do not know, nor spirits (*Gandharvas*), nor men, whose passions are extinct, and who is an Arhat.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who calls nothing his own, whether it be before, behind, or between; who is poor, and free from the love of the world.

Him I call indeed a brahmin, the manly, the noble, the hero, the great sage, the conqueror, the indifferent, the accomplished, the awakened.

Him I call indeed a brahmin who knows his former abodes, who sees heaven and hell, has reached the end of births, is perfect in knowledge, a sage, and whose perfections are all perfect.

END OF THE DHAMMAPADA

LATER TEACHINGS

*"No doer is there does the deed,
Nor is there one who feels the fruit."*

—THE WAY OF PURITY.

"As long as the round of rebirth continues, there is no by-gone karma."

—THE WAY OF PURITY.

LATER TEACHINGS

(INTRODUCTION)

THE Buddhist Scriptures or Sacred Writings were definitely closed about 70 B.C. Of course Buddhist priests continued composing books, but these were no longer accepted as divinely inspired. They were regarded as offering a merely worldly wisdom, which any believer might contradict if he would. The earlier teachings, the Suttas or Sacred Sayings, he must accept entire as coming direct from Buddha's teaching.

Among the latest of the inspired Suttas is usually placed "The Great King of Glory," or "Maha-Sudassana" Sutta. It is given here as a thoroughly typical Oriental tale, and as showing how far from the philosophical spirit of the earliest Buddhism the later Suttas sometimes drifted. As they were still taught orally, they tended to ever increasing repetition of a series of set phrases easily memorized. The "Great King" has a central story of beauty and power, but this is clouded by the mass of details of opulent splendor so persistently repeated. Another, and much shorter form of the story, appears in the Jataka or Birth-Tales; but the grandiloquent form here given appeals far more to the Eastern imagination, and is a favorite priestly tale or recitation.

In contrast to the "Great King," we then give a chapter from the "Visuddhi-Magga" or "Way of Purity." This reaches beyond the canon. It is a much admired philosophical work of the Buddhist priesthood, composed about the year A.D. 400. It gives us the practical faith into which the later Buddhism developed. Instead of the loose story style of the "Great King," we have here meditation and keen psychology, a careful expounding of the doctrine of "karma" which held so large a place in the final development of Buddhism.

Briefly speaking, "karma" may be translated as deeds, or

more broadly, the mass of deeds and their consequences. What we do reacts upon all the world and especially upon ourselves. Hence through all eternity we shall be what our "karma" makes of us. But for all the ideas which this doctrine is extended to cover and to teach in Buddhist thought, we refer the reader to this closing text of our volume, the "Way of Purity."

LATER TEACHINGS

THE GREAT KING OF GLORY ¹

OR

MAHA-SUDASSANA ² SUTTA

CHAPTER I

1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once staying at Kusinara in the Upavattana, the Sala grove of the Mallas, between the twin Sala trees, at the time of his death.

2. Now the venerable Ananda went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and bowed down before him, and took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was so seated, the venerable Ananda said to the Blessed One:

“Let not the Blessed One die in this little wattel and daub town, in this town in the midst of the jungle, in this branch township. For, Lord, there are other great cities, such as Kampa, Ragagaha, Savatthi, Saketa, Kosambi, and Benares. Let the Blessed One die in one of them. There there are many wealthy nobles and brahmins and heads of houses, believers in the Tathagata, who will pay due honor to the remains of the Tathagata.”

3. “Say not so, Ananda! Say not so, Ananda, that this is but a small wattel and daub town, a town in the midst of the jungle, a branch township. Long ago, Ananda, there was a king, by name Maha-Sudassana, a king of kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, an anointed Kshattriya, Lord of the four quarters of the earth, conqueror, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures. This Kusinara, Ananda, was the royal city of King Maha-Sudas-

¹ Translated by Prof. T. Rhys Davids.

² *Sudassana* means “beautiful to see, having a glorious appearance,” and is the name of many kings and heroes in Indian legend.

sana, under the name of Kusavati,³ and on the east and on the west it was twelve leagues in length, and on the north and on the south it was seven leagues in breadth. That royal city Kusavati, Ananda, was mighty, and prosperous, and full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all things for food. Just, Ananda, as the royal city of the gods, Alakamanda by name, is mighty, prosperous, and full of people, crowded with the gods, and provided with all kinds of food, so, Ananda, was the royal city Kusavati mighty and prosperous, full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all kinds of food. Both by day and by night, Ananda, the royal city Kusavati resounded with the ten cries; that is to say, the noise of elephants, and the noise of horses, and the noise of chariots; the sounds of the drum, of the tabor, and of the lute; the sound of singing, and the sounds of the cymbal and of the gong; and lastly, with the cry, 'Eat, drink, and be merry!'

4. "The royal city Kusavati, Ananda, was surrounded by Seven Ramparts. Of these, one rampart was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems!

5. "To the royal city Kusavati, Ananda, there were Four Gates. One gate was of gold, and one of silver, and one of jade, and one of crystal. At each gate seven pillars were fixed; in height as three times or as four times the height of a man. And one pillar was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems.

6. "The royal city Kusavati, Ananda, was surrounded by Seven Rows of Palm-Trees. One row was of palms of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems.

7. "And the Golden Palms had trunks of gold, and leaves

³ Kusavati was the name of a famous city mentioned as the capital of Southern Kusala in post-Buddhistic Sanskrit plays and epic poems. In the Mahabharata it is called Kusavati. It is said to have been so named after Kusa, son of Rama, by whom it was built; and it is also called Kusasthali.

and fruits of silver. And the Silver Palms had trunks of silver, and leaves and fruits of gold. And the Palms of Beryl had trunks of beryl, and leaves and fruits of crystal. And the Crystal Palms had trunks of crystal, and leaves and fruits of beryl. And the Agate Palms had trunks of agate, and leaves and fruits of coral. And the Coral Palms had trunks of coral, and leaves and fruits of agate. And the Palms of every kind of Gem had trunks and leaves and fruits of every kind of gem.

8. "And when those rows of palm-trees, Ananda, were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

"Just, Ananda, as the seven kind of instruments yield, when well played upon, to the skilful man, a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating — just even so, Ananda, when those rows of palm-trees were shaken by the wind there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

9. "And whoever, Ananda, in the royal city Kusavati were at that time gamblers, drunkards, and given to drink, they used to dance round together to the sound of those palms when shaken by the wind.

10. "The Great King of Glory, Ananda, was the possessor of Seven Precious Things, and was gifted with Four Marvelous Powers."

"What are those seven?"

11. "In the first place, Ananda, when the Great King of Glory, on the Sabbath day,⁴ on the day of the full moon, had purified himself, and had gone up into the upper story of his palace to keep the sacred day, there then appeared to him the heavenly Treasure of the Wheel, with its nave, its tire, and all its thousand spokes complete.

12. "When he beheld it the Great King of Glory thought:

"This saying have I heard, "When a king of the warrior race, an anointed king, has purified himself on the Sabbath

⁴ *Uposatha*, a weekly sacred day; being full-moon day, new-moon day, and the two equidistant intermediate days. Compare Section 21.

day, on the day of the full moon, and has gone up into the upper story of his palace to keep the sacred day; if there appear to him the heavenly Treasure of the Wheel, with its nave, its tire, and all its thousand spokes complete — that king becomes a king of kings invincible." May I, then, become a king of kings invincible.'

13. "Then, Ananda, the Great King of Glory rose from his seat, and reverently uncovering from one shoulder his robe, he held in his left hand a pitcher, and with his right hand he sprinkled water up over the Wheel, as he said:

" 'Roll onward, O my Lord, the Wheel! O my Lord, go forth and overcome!'

14. "Then the wondrous Wheel, Ananda, rolled onward toward the region of the East, and after it went the Great King of Glory, and with him his army, horses, and chariots, and elephants, and men. And in whatever place, Ananda, the Wheel stopped, there the Great King of Glory took up his abode, and with him his army, horses, and chariots, and elephants, and men.

15. "Then, Ananda, all the rival kings in the region of the East came to the Great King of Glory and said:

" 'Come, O mighty king! Welcome, O mighty king! All is thine, O mighty king! Do thou, O mighty king, be a Teacher to us!'

16. "Thus spake the Great King of Glory:

" 'Ye shall slay no living thing.

" 'Ye shall not take that which has not been given.

" 'Ye shall not act wrongly touching the bodily desires.

" 'Ye shall speak no lie.

" 'Ye shall drink no maddening drink.

" 'Ye shall eat as ye have eaten.' ⁵

17. "Then, Ananda, all the rival kings in the region of the East became subject unto the Great King of Glory.

18. "But the wondrous Wheel, Ananda, having plunged down into the great waters in the East, rose up out again,

⁵ Buddhaghosa has no comment on this. I suppose it means, "Observe the rules current among you regarding clean and unclean meats." If so, the Great King of Glory disregards the teaching of other Suttas.

and rolled onward to the region of the South, and there all happened as had happened in the region of the East. And in like manner the wondrous Wheel rolled onward to the extremest boundary of the West and of the North; and there, too, all happened as had happened in the region of the East.

19. "Now when the wondrous Wheel, Ananda, had gone forth conquering and to conquer o'er the whole earth to its very ocean boundary, it returned back again to the royal city of Kusavati and remained fixed on the open terrace in front of the entrance to the inner apartments of the Great King of Glory, as a glorious adornment to the inner apartments of the Great King of Glory.

20. "Such, Ananda, was the wondrous Wheel which appeared to the Great King of Glory.

21. "Now further, Ananda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Elephant Treasure, all white, sevenfold firm,⁶ wonderful in power, flying through the sky — the Elephant-King, whose name was 'The Changes of the Moon.'⁷

22. "When he beheld it the Great King of Glory was pleased at heart at the thought:

"'Auspicious were it to ride upon that Elephant, if only it would submit to be controlled!'

23. "Then, Ananda, the wondrous Elephant — like a fine elephant of noble blood long since well trained — submitted to control.

24. "When as before, Ananda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wondrous Elephant, mounted on to it early in the morning, it passed over along the broad earth to its very ocean

⁶ *Satta-ppatittho*, that is, perhaps, in regard to its four legs, two tusks, and trunk. The expression is curious, and Buddhaghosa has no note upon it. It is quite possible that it merely signifies "exceeding firm," the number seven being used without any hard and fast interpretation.

⁷ *Uposatho*. In the *Lalita Vistara* its name is "Wisdom" (*Bodhi*). *Uposatha* is the name for the sacred day of the moon's changes — first, and more especially the full-moon day; next, the new-moon day; and lastly, the days equidistant between these two. It was therefore a weekly sacred day, and, as Childers says, may often be well rendered "Sabbath."

boundary, and then returned again, in time for the morning meal, to the royal city of Kusavati.

25. "Such, Ananda, was the wondrous Elephant that appeared to the Great King of Glory.

26. "Now further, Ananda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Horse Treasure, all white with a black head, and a dark mane, wonderful in power, flying through the sky — the Charger-King, whose name was 'Thunder-cloud.'

27. "When he beheld it, the Great King of Glory was pleased at heart at the thought:

"'Auspicious were it to ride upon that Horse if only it would submit to be controlled!'

28. "Then, Ananda, the wondrous Horse — like a fine horse of the best blood long since well trained — submitted to control.

29. "When as before, Ananda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wondrous Horse, mounted on to it early in the morning, it passed over along the broad earth to its very ocean boundary, and then returned again, in time for the morning meal, to the royal city of Kusavati.

30. "Such, Ananda, was the wondrous Horse that appeared to the Great King of Glory.

31. Now further, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Gem-Treasure. That Gem was the Veluriya, bright, of the finest species, with eight facets, excellently wrought, clear, transparent, perfect in every way.

32. "The splendor, Ananda, of that wondrous Gem spread round about a league on every side.

33. "When as before, Ananda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wondrous Gem, set all his fourfold army in array and raised aloft the Gem upon his standard top, he was able to march out in the gloom and darkness of the night.

34. "And then too, Ananda, all the dwellers in the villages, round about, set about their daily work, thinking, 'The daylight hath appeared.'

35. "Such, Ananda, was the wondrous Gem that appeared to the Great King of Glory.

36. "Now further, Ananda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Woman-Treasure, graceful in figure, beautiful in appearance, charming in manner, and of the most fine complexion; neither very tall, nor very short; neither very stout, nor very slim; neither very dark, nor very fair; surpassing human beauty, she had attained unto the beauty of the gods.⁸

37. "The touch too, Ananda, of the skin of that wondrous Woman was as the touch of cotton or of cotton wool: in the cold her limbs were warm, in the heat her limbs were cool; while from her body was wafted the perfume of sandalwood and from her mouth the perfume of the lotus.

38. "That Pearl among Women too, Ananda, used to rise up before the Great King of Glory, and after him retire to rest; pleasant was she in speech, and ever on the watch to hear what she might do in order so to act as to give him pleasure.

39. "That Pearl among Women too, Ananda, was never, even in thought, unfaithful to the Great King of Glory — how much less then could she be so with the body!

40. "Such, Ananda, was the Pearl among Women who appeared to the Great King of Glory.

41. "Now further, Ananda, there appeared unto the Great King of Glory a Wonderful Treasurer,⁹ possessed, through good deeds done in a former birth, of a marvelous power of vision by which he could discover treasure, whether it had an owner or whether it had not.

⁸ The above description of an ideally beautiful woman is of frequent occurrence.

⁹ *Gahapati-ratanam*. The word *gahapati* has been hitherto usually rendered "householder," but this may often, and would certainly here, convey a wrong impression. There is no single word in English which is an adequate rendering of the term, for it connotes a social condition now no longer known among us. The *gahapati* was the head of a family, the representative in a village community of a family, the *pater familias*. So the god of fire, with allusion to the sacred fire maintained in each household, is called in the Rig Veda the *grihapati*, the *pater familias*, of the human race.

42. "He went up to the Great King of Glory, and said:

"Do thou, O king, take thine ease! I will deal with thy wealth even as wealth should be dealt with."

43. "Then, as before, Ananda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wonderful Treasurer, went on board a boat, and had it pushed out into the current in the midst of the river Ganges. Then he said to the wonderful steward:

"I have need, O Treasurer, of yellow gold!"

"Let the ship then, O Great King, go alongside either of the banks."

"It is here, O Treasurer, that I have need of yellow gold."

44. "Then the wonderful Treasurer reached down to the water with both his hands, and drew up a jar full of yellow gold, and said to the Great King of Glory:

"Is that enough, O Great King? Have I done enough, O Great King?"

"And the Great King of Glory replied:

"It is enough, O Treasurer. You have done enough, O Treasurer. You have offered me enough, O Treasurer!"

45. "Such was the wonderful Treasurer, Ananda, who appeared to the Great King of Glory.

46. "Now further, Ananda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory a Wonderful Adviser, learned, clever, and wise; and qualified to lead the Great King of Glory to undertake what he ought to undertake, and to leave undone what he ought to leave undone.

47. "He went up to the Great King of Glory and said:

"Do thou, O King, take thine ease! I will be thy guide."

48. "Such, Ananda, was the wonderful Adviser who appeared to the Great King of Glory.

"The Great King of Glory was possessed of these Seven Precious Things.

49. "Now further, Ananda, the Great King of Glory was gifted with Four Marvelous Gifts."

"What are the Four Marvelous Gifts?"

50. "In the first place, Ananda, the Great King of Glory was graceful in figure, handsome in appearance, pleasing in manner, and of most beautiful complexion, beyond what other men are.

"The Great King of Glory, Ananda, was endowed with this First Marvelous Gift.

51. "And besides that, Ananda, the Great King of Glory was of long life, and of many years, beyond those of other men.

"The Great King of Glory, Ananda, was endowed with this Second Marvelous Gift.

52. "And besides that, Ananda, the Great King of Glory was free from disease, and free from bodily suffering; and his internal fire was neither too hot nor too cold, but such as to promote good digestion, beyond that of other men.

"The Great King of Glory, Ananda, was endowed with this Third Marvelous Gift.

* 53. "And besides that, Ananda, the Great King of Glory was beloved and popular with brahmins and with laymen alike. Just, Ananda, as a father is near and dear to his own sons, just so, Ananda, was the Great King of Glory beloved and popular with brahmins and with laymen alike. And just, Ananda, as his sons are near and dear to a father, just so, Ananda, were brahmins and laymen alike near and dear to the Great King of Glory.

54. "Once, Ananda, the Great King of Glory marched out with all his fourfold army to the pleasure-ground. There, Ananda, the brahmins and laymen went up to the Great King of Glory, and said:

"'O King, pass slowly by, that we may look upon thee for a longer time!'

"But the Great King of Glory, Ananda, addressed his charioteer, and said:

"'Drive on the chariot slowly, charioteer, that I may look upon my people (brahmins and laymen) for a longer time!'

55. "This was the Fourth Marvelous Gift, Ananda, with which the Great King of Glory was endowed.

56. "These are the Four Marvelous Gifts, Ananda, with which the Great King of Glory was endowed.

57. "Now to the Great King of Glory, Ananda, there occurred the thought:

" 'Suppose, now, I were to make Lotus-ponds in the spaces between these palms, at every hundred bow lengths.'

"Then, Ananda, the Great King of Glory, in the spaces between those palms, at distances of a hundred bow lengths, made Lotus-ponds.

58. "And those Lotus-ponds, Ananda, were faced with tiles of four kinds. One kind of tile was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

59. "And to each of those Lotus-ponds, Ananda, there were four flights of steps, of four different kinds. One flight of steps was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal. The flight of golden steps had balustrades of gold, with the cross-bars and the figurehead of silver. The flight of silver steps had balustrades of silver, with the cross-bars and the figurehead of gold. The flight of beryl steps had balustrades of beryl, with the cross-bars and the figurehead of crystal. The flight of crystal steps had balustrades of crystal, with cross-bars and figurehead of beryl.

60. "And round those Lotus-ponds there ran, Ananda, a double railing. One railing was of gold and one was of silver. The golden railing had its posts of gold, and its cross-bars and its capitals of silver. The silver railing had its posts of silver and its cross-bars and its capitals of gold.¹⁰

61. "Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ananda, there occurred the thought:

" 'Suppose, now, I were to have flowers of every season planted in those Lotus-ponds for the use of all the people — to wit, blue water-lilies and blue lotuses, white lotuses and white water-lilies.'

¹⁰ *Pokkharani*, the word translated "Lotus-pond," is an artificial pool or small lake for water-plants. There are some which are probably nearly as old as this passage still in good preservation in Anuradhapuru in Ceylon. Each is oblong, and has its tiles and its four flights of steps, and some had railings.

"Then, Ananda, the Great King of Glory had flowers of every season planted in those Lotus-ponds for the use of all the people — to wit, blue water-lilies and blue lotuses, white lotuses and white water-lilies.

62. "Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ananda, occurred the thought:

" 'Suppose, now, I were to place bathing-men on the banks of those Lotus-ponds, to bathe such of the people as come there from time to time.'

"Then, Ananda, the Great King of Glory placed bathing-men on the banks of those Lotus-ponds, to bathe such of the people as come there from time to time.

63. "Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ananda, occurred the thought:

" 'Suppose, now, I were to establish a perpetual grant by the banks of those Lotus-ponds — to wit, food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty, raiment for the naked, means of conveyance for those who have need of it, couches for the tired, wives for those who want wives, gold for the poor, and money for those who are in want.'

"Then, Ananda, the Great King of Glory established a perpetual grant by the banks of those Lotus-ponds — to wit, food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty, raiment for the naked, means of conveyance for those who need it, couches for the tired, wives for those who want wives, gold for the poor, and money for those who were in want.

64. "Now, Ananda, the people (brahmins and laymen) went to the Great King of Glory, taking with them much wealth. And they said:

" 'This abundant wealth, O King, have we brought here for the use of the King of Kings. Let the King accept it of us!'

" 'I have enough wealth, my friends, laid up for myself, the produce of righteous taxation. Do you keep this, and take away more with you!'

65. "When those men were thus refused by the King they went aside and considered together, saying:

“ ‘It would not beseem us now, were we to take back this wealth to our own houses. Suppose, now, we were to build a mansion for the Great King of Glory.’

66. “Then they went to the Great King of Glory, and said:

“ ‘A mansion would we build for thee, O King!’

“Then, Ananda, the Great King of Glory signified, by silence, his consent.

67. “Now, Ananda, when Sakka, the king of the gods, became aware in his mind of the thoughts that were in the heart of the Great King of Glory, he addressed Vissakamma the god, and said:

“ ‘Come now, Vissakamma, create me a mansion for the Great King of Glory — a palace which shall be called “Righteousness.” ’

68. “ ‘Even so, Lord!’ said Vissakamma, in assent, Ananda, to Sakka, the king of the gods. And as instantaneously as a strong man might stretch forth his folded arm, or draw in his arm again when it was stretched forth, so quickly did he vanish from the heaven of the Great Thirty-Three, and appeared before the Great King of Glory.

69. “Then, Ananda, Vissakamma the god said to the Great King of Glory:

“ ‘I would create for thee, O King, a mansion — a palace which shall be called “Righteousness!” ’

“Then, Ananda, the Great King of Glory signified, by silence, his consent.

70. “So Vissakamma the god, Ananda, created for the Great King of Glory a mansion — a palace to be called ‘Righteousness.’

71. “The Palace of Righteousness, Ananda, was on the east and on the west a league in length, and on the north and on the south half a league in breadth.

72. “The ground-floor, Ananda, of the Palace of Righteousness, in height as three times the height to which a man can reach, was built of bricks, of four kinds. One kind of

brick was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

73. "To the Palace of Righteousness, Ananda; there were eighty-four thousand pillars of four kinds. One kind of pillar was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

74. "The Palace of Righteousness, Ananda, was fitted up with seats of four kinds. One kind of seat was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

75. "In the Palace of Righteousness, Ananda, there were twenty-four staircases of four kinds. One staircase was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal. The staircase of gold had balustrades of gold, with the cross-bars and the figurehead of silver. The staircase of silver had balustrades of silver, with the cross-bars and the figurehead of gold. The staircase of beryl had balustrades of beryl, with the cross-bars and the figurehead of crystal. The staircase of crystal had balustrades of crystal, with cross-bars and figurehead of beryl.

76. "In the Palace of Righteousness, Ananda, there were eighty-four thousand chambers of four kinds. One kind of chamber was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

"In the golden chamber a silver couch was spread; in the silver chamber a golden couch; in the beryl chamber a couch of ivory; and in the crystal chamber a couch of coral.

"At the door of the golden chamber there stood a palm-tree of silver; and its trunk was of silver, and its leaves and fruits of gold.

"At the door of the silver chamber there stood a palm-tree of gold; and its trunk was of gold, and its leaves and fruits of silver.

"At the door of the beryl chamber there stood a palm-tree of crystal; and its trunk was of crystal, and its leaves and fruits of beryl.

"At the door of the crystal chamber there stood a palm-tree of beryl; and its trunk was of beryl, and its leaves and fruits of crystal.

77. "Now there occurred, Ananda, to the Great King of Glory this thought:

" 'Suppose, now, I were to make a grove of palm-trees, all of gold, at the entrance to the chamber of the Great Complex, under the shade of which I may pass the heat of the day.'

"Then, Ananda, the Great King of Glory made a grove of palm-trees, all of gold, at the entrance to the chamber of the Great Complex, under the shade of which he might pass the heat of the day.

78. "The Palace of Righteousness, Ananda, was surrounded by a double railing. One railing was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden railing had its posts of gold, and its cross-bars and its figurehead of silver. The silver railing had its posts of silver and its cross-bars and its figurehead of gold.

79. "The Palace of Righteousness, Ananda, was hung round with two networks of bells. One network of bells was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden network had bells of silver, and the silver network had bells of gold.

80. "And when those networks of bells, Ananda, were shaken by the wind there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

"Just, Ananda, as the seven kind of instruments yield, when well played upon, to the skilful man, a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating—just even so, Ananda, when those networks of bells were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

81. "And whoever, Ananda, in the royal city Kusavati were at that time gamblers, drunkards, and given to drink, they used to dance round together to the sound of those networks of bells when shaken by the wind.

82. "When the Palace of Righteousness, Ananda, was finished it was hard to look at, destructive to the eyes. Just, Ananda, as in the last month of the rains in the autumn time, when the sky has become clear and the clouds have vanished away, the sun, springing up along the heavens, is hard to look

at, and destructive to the eyes — just so, Ananda, when the Palace of Righteousness was finished was it hard to look at, and destructive to the eyes.

83. "Now there occurred, Ananda, to the Great King of Glory this thought:

" 'Suppose, now, in front of the Palace of Righteousness, I were to make a Lotus-lake to bear the name of "Righteousness." "

"Then, Ananda, the Great King of Glory made a Lotus-lake to bear the name of 'Righteousness.'

84. "The Lake of Righteousness, Ananda, was on the east and on the west a league in length, and on the north and on the south half a league in breadth.

85. "The Lake of Righteousness, Ananda, was faced with tiles of four kinds. One kind of tile was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

86. "The Lake of Righteousness, Ananda, had four and twenty flights of steps, of four different kinds. One flight of steps was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal. The flight of golden steps had balustrades of gold, with the cross-bars and the figurehead of silver. The flight of silver steps had balustrades of silver, with the cross-bars and the figurehead of gold. The flight of beryl steps had balustrades of beryl, with the cross-bars and the figurehead of crystal. The flight of crystal steps had balustrades of crystal, with cross-bars and figurehead of beryl.

87. "Round the Lake of Righteousness, Ananda, there ran a double railing. One railing was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden railing had its posts of gold, and its cross-bars and its capitals of silver. The silver railing had its posts of silver, and its cross-bars and its capitals of gold.

88. "The Lake of Righteousness, Ananda, was surrounded by seven rows of palm-trees. One row was of palms of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems.

89. "And the golden palms had trunks of gold, and leaves and fruits of silver. And the silver palms had trunks of sil-

ver, and leaves and fruits of gold. And the palms of beryl had trunks of beryl, and leaves and fruits of crystal. And the crystal palms had trunks of crystal, and leaves and fruits of beryl. And the agate palms had trunks of agate, and leaves and fruits of coral. And the coral palms had trunks of coral, and leaves and fruits of agate. And the palms of every kind of gem had trunks and leaves and fruits of every kind of gem.

90. "And when those rows of palm-trees, Ananda, were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

"Just, Ananda, as the seven kind of instruments yield, when well played upon, to the skilful man, a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating — just even so, Ananda, when those rows of palm-trees were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

91. "And whoever, Ananda,¹¹ in the royal city of Kusavati were at that time gamblers, drunkards, and given to drink, they used to dance round together to the sound of those palms when shaken by the wind.

92. "When the Palace of Righteousness, Ananda, was finished, and the Lotus-lake of Righteousness was finished, the Great King of Glory entertained with all good things those of the Samanas who, at that time, were held in high esteem, and those of the brahmins who, at that time, were held in high esteem. Then he ascended up into the Palace of Righteousness."

End of the First Portion for Recitation.

¹¹ This paragraph is perhaps repeated by mistake; but it is scarcely less in harmony with its context at section 8 than it is here. It is more probable that section 92 followed originally, immediately after section 82, with the Lotus-lake clause omitted.

CHAPTER II

1. "Now there occurred, Ananda, this thought to the Great King of Glory:

"Of what previous character, now, may this be the fruit, of what previous character the result, that I am now so mighty and so great?"

2. "And then occurred, Ananda, to the Great King of Glory this thought:

"Of three qualities is this the fruit, of three qualities the result, that I am now so mighty and so great — that is to say, of giving, of self-conquest, and of self-control."¹

3. "Now the Great King of Glory, Ananda, ascended up into the chamber of the Great Complex; and when he had come there he stood at the door, and there he broke out into a cry of intense emotion:

"Stay here, O thoughts of lust!

"Stay here, O thoughts of ill-will!

"Stay here, O thoughts of hatred!

"Thus far only, O thoughts of lust!

"Thus far only, O thoughts of ill-will!

"Thus far only, O thoughts of hatred!"

4. "And when, Ananda, the Great King of Glory had entered the chamber of the Great Complex, and had seated himself upon the couch of gold, having put away all passion and all unrighteousness, he entered into, and remained in, the First Ghana — a state of joy and ease, born of seclusion, full of reflection, full of investigation.

5. "By suppressing reflection and investigation, he entered into, and remained in, the Second Ghana — a state of joy and ease, born of serenity, without reflection, without investigation, a state of elevation of mind, of internal calm.

6. "By absence of the longing after joy, he remained indifferent, conscious, self-possessed, experiencing in his body

¹ I have here translated *kamma* by "previous character" and by "quality." The easiest plan would, no doubt, have been, to preserve in the translation the technical term "karma."

that ease which the noble ones announce, saying, 'The man indifferent and self-possessed is well at ease,' and thus he entered into and remained in, the Third Ghana.

7. "By putting away ease, by putting away pain, by the previous dying away both of gladness and of sorrow, he entered into, and remained in, the Fourth Ghana — a state of purified self-possession and equanimity, without ease, and without pain.²

8. "Then, Ananda, the Great King of Glory went out from the chamber of the Great Complex, and entered the golden chamber and sat himself down on the silver couch. And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Love; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Love, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

9. "And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Pity; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Pity, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

10. "And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Sympathy; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Sympathy, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

11. "And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world

²The above paragraphs are an endeavor to express the inmost feelings when they are first strung to the uttermost by the intense effects of deep religious emotion, and then feel the effects of what may be called, for want of a better word, the reaction. Most deeply religious natures have passed through such a crisis; and though the feelings are perhaps really indescribable, this passage is dealing, not with a vain mockery, but with a very real event in spiritual experience.

with thoughts of Equanimity; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Equanimity, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

12. "The Great King of Glory, Ananda, had four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which was the royal city of Kusavati:

"Four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which was the Palace of Righteousness:

"Four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which was the chamber of the Great Complex:

"Four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandalwood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins; covered with lofty canopies; and provided at both ends with purple cushions:

"Four and eighty thousand State elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network — of which the king of elephants, called 'the Changes of the Moon,' was chief:

"Four and eighty thousand State horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network — of which 'Thunder-cloud,' the king of horses, was the chief:

"Four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers — of which the chariot called 'the Flag of Victory' was the chief:

"Four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem was the chief:

"Four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory was the chief:

"Four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward was the chief:

"Four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser was the chief:

"Four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze:

"Four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool:

"Four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice was served.

13. "Now at that time, Ananda, the four and eighty thousand State elephants used to come every evening and every morning to be of service to the Great King of Glory.

14. "And this thought occurred to the Great King of Glory:

"These eighty thousand elephants come every evening and every morning to be of service to me. Suppose, now, I were to let the elephants come in alternate forty thousands, once each, every alternate hundred years!'

15. "Then, Ananda, the Great King of Glory, said to the Great Adviser:

"O, my friend, the Great Adviser! these eighty thousand elephants come every evening and every morning to be of service to me. Now, let the elephants come, O my friend, the Great Adviser, in alternate forty thousands, once each, every alternate hundred years!'

"Even so, Lord!' said the Wonderful Adviser, in assent, to the Great King of Glory.

16. "From that time forth, Ananda, the elephants came in alternate forty thousands, once each, every alternate hundred years.

17. "Now, Ananda, after the lapse of many years, and of many hundred years, of many thousand years, there occurred to the Queen of Glory³ this thought:

"'Tis long since I have beheld the Great King of Glory. Suppose, now, I were to go and visit the Great King of Glory.'

18. "Then, Ananda, the Queen of Glory said to the women of the harem:

³ *Subhadda Devi*. Subhadda, "glorious, magnificent," is a not uncommon name both for men and women in Buddhist and post-Buddhist Hindu literature.

“ ‘Arise now, dress your hair, and clad yourselves in fresh raiment. ’Tis long since we have beheld the Great King of Glory!’

19. “ ‘Even so, Lady!’ said the women of the harem, Ananda, in assent, to the Queen of Glory. And they dressed their hair, and clad themselves in fresh raiment, and came near to the Queen of Glory.

20. “ Then, Ananda, the Queen of Glory said to the Great Adviser:

“ ‘Arrange, O Great Adviser, the fourfold army in array. ’Tis long since I have beheld the Great King of Glory. I am about to go to visit the Great King of Glory.’

21. “ ‘Even so, O Queen!’ said the Great Adviser, Ananda, in assent, to the Queen of Glory. And he set the fourfold army in array, and had the fact announced to the Queen of Glory in the words:

“ ‘The fourfold army, O Queen, is set for thee in array. Do now whatever seemeth to thee fit.’

22. “ Then, Ananda, the Queen of Glory, with the fourfold army, repaired, with the women of the harem, to the Palace of Righteousness. And when she had arrived there she mounted up into the Palace of Righteousness, and went on to the chamber of the Great Complex. And when she had reached it, she stopped and leaned against the side of the door.

23. “ When, Ananda, the Great King of Glory heard the noise he thought:

“ ‘What, now, may this noise, as of a great multitude of people, mean?’

24. “ And going out from the chamber of the Great Complex, he beheld the Queen of Glory standing leaning up against the side of the door. And when he beheld her, he said to the Queen of Glory:

“ ‘Stop there, O Queen! Enter not!’

25. “ Then the Great King of Glory, Ananda, said to one of his attendants:

“ ‘Arise, good man! take the golden couch out of the cham-

ber of the Great Complex, and make it ready under that grove of palm-trees which is all of gold.'

26. "'Even so, Lord!'" said the man, in assent, to the Great King of Glory. And he took the golden couch out of the chamber of the Great Complex, and made it ready under that grove of palm-trees which was all of gold.

27. "Then, Ananda, the Great King of Glory laid himself down in the dignified way a lion does; and lay with one leg resting on the other, calm and self-possessed.

28. "Then, Ananda, there occurred to the Queen of Glory this thought:

"'How calm are all the limbs of the Great King of Glory! How clear and bright is his appearance! O may it not be that the Great King of Glory is dead!'"

29. "And she said to the Great King of Glory:

"'Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which is the royal city of Kusavati. Arise, O King, reawaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!"

"'Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which is the Palace of Righteousness. Arise, O King, reawaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!"

"'Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which is the chamber of the Great Complex. Arise, O King, reawaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!"

"'Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandalwood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins; covered with lofty canopies; and provided at both ends with purple cushions. Arise, O King, reawaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!"

"'Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand State elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network — of which the king of elephants, called

"the Changes of the Moon," is chief. Arise, O King, reawaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand State horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network — of which "Thunder-cloud," the king of horses, is the chief. Arise, O King, reawaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers — of which the chariot called "the Flag of Victory" is the chief. Arise, O King, reawaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem is the chief. Arise, O King, reawaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory is the chief. Arise, O King, reawaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward is the chief. Arise, O King, reawaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser is the chief. Arise, O King, reawaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze. Arise, O King, reawaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool. Arise, O King, reawaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!

"Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice is

served. Arise, O King, reawaken thy desire for these! quicken thy longing after life!’

30. “When she had thus spoken, Ananda, the Great King of Glory said to the Queen of Glory:

“‘Long hast thou addressed me, O Queen, in pleasant words, much to be desired, and sweet. Yet now in this last time you speak in words unpleasant, disagreeable, not to be desired.’

31. “‘How then, O King, shall I address thee?’

“‘Thus, O Queen, shouldst thou address me: The nature of all things near and dear to us, O King, is such that we must leave them, divide ourselves from them, separate ourselves from them. Pass not away, O King, with longing in thy heart. Sad is the death of him who longs, unworthy is the death of him who longs. Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which is the royal city of Kusavati. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“‘Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which is the Palace of Righteousness. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“‘Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which is the chamber of the Great Complex. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“‘Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandalwood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins; covered with lofty canopies; and provided at both ends with purple cushions. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“‘Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand State elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network — of which the king of elephants, called “the Changes of the Moon,” is chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“‘Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand State horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network — of which “Thunder-cloud,” the king

of horses, is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers — of which the chariot called “the Flag of Victory” is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice is served. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!’

32. “When he thus spake, Ananda, the Queen of Glory wept and poured forth tears.

33. “Then, Ananda, the Queen of Glory wiped away her tears, and addressed the Great King of Glory, and said:

“The nature of all things near and dear to us, O King, is such that we must leave them, divide ourselves from them, separate ourselves from them. Pass not away, O King, with longing in thy heart. Sad is the death of him who longs,

unworthy is the death of him who longs. Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which is the royal city of Kusavati. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which is the Palace of Righteousness. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which is the chamber of the Great Complex. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandalwood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins; covered with lofty canopies; and provided at both ends with purple cushions. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand State elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network — of which the king of elephants, called “the Changes of the Moon,” is chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand State horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network — of which “Thunder-cloud,” the king of horses, is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers — of which the chariot called “the Flag of Victory” is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!

“ ‘Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!’

“ ‘Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser is the chief. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!’

“ ‘Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!’

“ ‘Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!’

“ ‘Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice is served. Cast away desire for these! long not after life!’

34. “Then immediately, Ananda, the Great King of Glory died. Just, Ananda, as when a yeoman has eaten a hearty meal he becomes all drowsy, just so were the feelings he experienced, Ananda, as death came upon the Great King of Glory.

35. “When the Great King of Glory, Ananda, had died, he came to life again in the happy world of Bráhmâ.

36. “For eight and forty thousand years, Ananda, the Great King of Glory lived the happy life of a prince; for eight and forty thousand years he was viceroy and heir-apparent; for eight and forty thousand years he ruled the kingdom; and for eight and forty thousand years he lived, as a layman, the noble life in the Palace of Righteousness. And then, when full of noble thoughts, he died; he entered, after the dissolution of the body, the noble world of Bráhmâ.

37. “Now it may be, Ananda, that you may think ‘The Great King of Glory of that time was another person.’ But, Ananda, you should not view the matter thus. I at that time was the Great King of Glory.

" Mine at that time were the four and eighty thousand cities, of which the chief was the royal city of Kusavati.

" Mine were the four and eighty thousand palaces, of which the chief was the Palace of Righteousness.

" Mine were the four and eighty thousand chambers, of which the chief was the chamber of the Great Complex.

" Mine were the four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandalwood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins; covered with lofty canopies; and provided at both ends with purple cushions.

" Mine were the four and eighty thousand State elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network — of which the king of elephants, called 'the Changes of the Moon,' was chief.

" Mine were the four and eighty thousand State horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network — of which 'Thunder-cloud,' the king of horses, was the chief.

" Mine were the four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers — of which the chariot called 'the Flag of Victory' was the chief.

" Mine were the four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem was the chief.

" Mine were the four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory was the chief.

" Mine were the four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward was the chief.

" Mine were the four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser was the chief.

" Mine were the four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze.

" Mine were the four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool.

" Mine were the four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice was served.

38. "Of those four and eighty thousand cities, Ananda, one was that city in which, at that time, I used to dwell — to wit, the royal city of Kusavati.

"Of those four and eighty thousand palaces too, Ananda, one was that palace in which, at that time, I used to dwell — to wit, the Palace of Righteousness.

"Of those four and eighty thousand chambers, too, Ananda, one was that chamber in which, at that time, I used to dwell — to wit, the chamber of the Great Complex.

"Of those four and eighty thousand divans too, Ananda, one was that divan which, at that time, I used to occupy — to wit, one of gold, or one of silver, or one of ivory, or one of sandalwood.

"Of those four and eighty thousand State elephants too, Ananda, one was that elephant which, at that time, I used to ride — to wit, the king of elephants, 'the Changes of the Moon.'

"Of those four and eighty thousand horses too, Ananda, one was that horse which, at that time, I used to ride — to wit, the king of horses, 'the Thunder-cloud.'

"Of those four and eighty thousand chariots too, Ananda, one was that chariot in which, at that time, I used to ride — to wit, the chariot called 'the Flag of Victory.'

"Of those four and eighty thousand wives too, Ananda, one was that wife who, at that time, used to wait upon me — to wit, either a lady of noble birth, or a Velamikani.

"Of those four and eighty thousand myriads of suits of apparel too, Ananda, one was the suit of apparel which, at that time, I wore — to wit, one of delicate texture, of linen, or cotton, or silk, or wool.

"Of those four and eighty thousand dishes too, Ananda, one was that dish from which, at that time, I ate a measure of rice and the curry suitable thereto.

39. "See, Ananda, how all these things are now past, are ended, have vanished away. Thus impermanent, Ananda, are component things; thus transitory, Ananda, are component things; thus untrustworthy, Ananda, are component things.

Insomuch, Ananda, is it meet to be weary of, is it meet to be estranged from, is it meet to be set quite free from the bondage of all component things!

40. "Now I call to mind, Ananda, how in this spot my body had been six times buried. And when I was dwelling here as the righteous king who ruled in righteousness, the lord of the four regions of the earth, the conqueror, the protector of his people, the possessor of the seven royal treasures — that was the seventh time.

41. "But I behold not any spot, Ananda, in the world of men and gods, nor in the world of Mara, nor in the world of Bráhmâ — no, not among the race of Samanas ór brahmins, of gods or men — where the Tathagata for the eighth time will lay aside his body."

42. Thus spake the Blessed One; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, once again the Teacher said:

"How transient are all component things!
Growth is their nature and decay:
They are produced, they are dissolved again:
And then is best, when they have sunk to rest!"

END OF THE MAHA-SUDASSANA SUTTA

THE WAY OF PURITY

OR

VISUDDHI-MAGGA ¹THE NINETEENTH CHAPTER, CALLED, PURITY FROM THE
REMOVAL OF DOUBT

The knowledge of the dependence of name and form and the consequent removal of doubt in the three divisions of time is called the Purity Ensuing on the Removal of Doubt.

The priest who is desirous of this knowledge enters on a search for the causes and dependence of name and form, just as a skilful physician seeing a disease will search to find how it arose, or just as a compassionate man seeing a small, weakly, helpless boy-baby lying on its back in the middle of the road will try to discover its parents.

And at first he reflects as follows: "Name and form can not be without a cause, as they are not the same everywhere, at all times, and for all people; nor yet are they caused by any personal power or the like, for there is no such power behind name and form; nor, again, are they right who say that name and form themselves constitute such a power, as the name and form thus called a personal power or the like are not a cause. Therefore it must needs be that name and form have causes and a dependence. And what are they?

"Having made these reflections, he begins to investigate the causes and dependence of form, as follows: When this body comes into existence, it does not arise in the midst of nymphaeas, nelumbiums, lotuses, and water-lilies, etc., nor of jewels, pearl-necklaces, etc.; but ill-smelling, disgusting, and repulsive, it arises between the stomach and the lower intestines, with the belly-wall behind and the backbone in front,

¹ From "Buddhism in Translation," by H. C. Warren, reprinted by permission of Harvard University.

in the midst of the entrails and mesentery, in an exceedingly contracted, ill-smelling, disgusting, and repulsive place, like a worm in rotten fish, carrion, or rancid gruel, or in a stagnant or dirty pool or the like. As it thus comes into being, these four — ignorance, desire, attachment, and karma — are the cause of it, inasmuch as they produce it; food is its dependence, inasmuch as it supports it. These five are its causes and dependence. Three of these — ignorance, etc. — are the basis for this body, as is the mother for the child; karma is the begetter, as is the father of the son; food is the sustainer, like the nurse."

Having thus grasped the dependence of form, he then grasps the dependence of name, as follows: "In dependence on the eye and in respect to form, eye-consciousness arises," etc.

When he has thus perceived the dependent manner of existence of name and form, he reaches the insight: "As name and form have at the present time a dependent manner of existence, so also had they in the past time, and so will they have in the future." In reaching this insight, that which is called the fivefold questioning concerning the past, namely:

"Did I exist in past time?

"Did I not exist in past time?

"What was I in past time?

"How was I in past time?

"Did I in past time change from one existence to another?" and that called the fivefold questioning concerning the future, namely:

"Shall I exist in future time?

"Shall I not exist in future time?

"What shall I be in future time?

"How shall I be in future time?

"Shall I in the future change from one existence to another?" and that called the sixfold questioning concerning the present, throwing doubt on his present existence, namely:

"Am I?

"Am I not?

"What am I?

"How am I?

"Whence came this existing being?

"Whither is it to go?"—

are all abandoned.

Another observes the twofold dependence of name as general and specific, and the fourfold one of form, as karma, etc.

For the dependence of name is twofold — general and specific. The six sense-apertures: eye, etc., and the six objects of sense: form, etc., are the general dependence of name in respect of giving rise to any kind of name whether meritorious or not; but attention, etc., are special. For philosophic attention, listening to the Good Doctrine, etc., are the dependence of only meritorious name. Their opposites are the dependence of that which is demeritorious; karma, etc., of fruition; existence-substratum, etc., of action.

Of form, however, karma, etc., *i.e.*, karma, thoughts, the seasons, and nutriment, constitutes the fourfold dependence.

Of these four, it is past karma which is the dependence of form springing from karma; present thoughts of that springing from thoughts; the seasons and nutriment are the dependence for the continuance of that springing from the seasons and from nutriment.

Thus does one priest grasp the dependence of name and form. And when he has perceived their dependent manner of existence he reaches the insight: "As name and form have at the present time a dependent manner of existence, so also had they in past time, and so will they have in the future." And when he reaches this insight, the questioning concerning the three divisions of time is abandoned as aforesaid.

Another observes in respect of these constituents of being, called name and form, their growing old and their subsequent dissolution, as follows: "The old age and death of the constituents of being exist when birth exists, birth when existence exists, existence when attachment exists, attachment when desire exists, desire when sensation exists, sensation when contact exists, contact when the six organs of sense exist, the six organs of sense when name and form exist, name and form when consciousness exists, consciousness when karma exists,

karma when ignorance exists." Thus does he grasp the dependence of name and form by considering Dependent Origination in the reverse direction. And his questioning is abandoned as aforesaid.

Another grasps the dependence of name and form by first considering the formula of Dependent Origination in the forward direction, in full, "Behold! On ignorance depends karma," etc. And his questioning is abandoned as aforesaid.

Another grasps the dependence of name and form by considering the round of karma and the round of its fruit as follows:

"Behold! in a former karma-existence, infatuation-ignorance, initiatory karma, longing desire, approximating attachment, and thought-existence—these five factors were the dependence for conception into this existence; rebirth-consciousness, the descent of name and form, the sensitiveness of the organs of sense, the contact experienced, the sensation felt, these five factors belonging to the originating-existence of the present life depend on the karma of a previous existence; when the senses have matured, then infatuation-ignorance, . . . thought-existence—these five factors of a present karma-existence are the dependence of rebirth in the future."

Now karma is fourfold:

That which bears fruit in the present existence;

That which bears fruit in rebirth;

That which bears fruit at no fixed time; and

Bygone karma.

The karma which bears fruit in the present existence is the meritorious or demeritorious thoughts constituting the first swiftness in the seven thoughts of a stream of swiftnesses. That brings forth fruit in this existence. But if it fail to do so, then it is bygone karma, and it is to be said of it in respect to the three divisions of time, as follows: "That karma has gone by: there was no fruit from it, nor will there be, nor is there."

The karma which bears fruit in rebirth is the efficacious thought which constitutes the seventh swiftness. That bears

fruit in the next existence. But if it fail to do so, it is bygone karma, as described above.

The karma which bears fruit at no fixed time is the thoughts constituting the five intermediate swiftesses. That bears fruit in the future whenever it may find opportunity, and as long as the round of rebirth continues there is no bygone karma.

There is another fourfold division of karma :

The weighty ;

The abundant ;

The close at hand ; and

The habitual.

Weighty karma — whether meritorious or demeritorious, such as matricide and other serious crimes of the sort, or lofty deeds — bears fruit before that which is not weighty.

That which is abundant, whether good conduct or bad conduct, bears fruit before that which is not abundant.

That which is close at hand is karma remembered at the moment of death. For the karma which a man remembers at the point of death springs up with him in rebirth.

But distinct from all these three is karma that has become habitual through much repetition. This brings on rebirth when the other three are absent.

There is another fourfold division of karma :

Productive ;

Supportive ;

Counteractive ; and

Destructive.

Productive karma may be either meritorious or demeritorious. It produces both form and the other fruition-groups, not only at the time of conception, but as long as they continue.

Supportive karma can not produce fruit, but when rebirth has been given by other karma, and fruit has been produced, it supports the ensuing happiness or misery, and brings about its continuance.

Counteractive karma, when rebirth has been given by other karma, and fruit has been produced, counteracts the

ensuing happiness or misery, suppresses it, and does not suffer it to continue.

Destructive karma, whether meritorious or demeritorious, destroys other weak karma, and, preventing it from bearing fruit, makes room for its own fruition. The fruit which thus arises is called apparitional.

The distinction between these twelve different karmas and their fruits have their inner nature plainly revealed to the insight into karma and its fruit possessed by the Buddhas, but this insight is not shared in by their disciples. The man of insight, however, should know the general distinction between karma and the fruit of karma. Therefore it is that these distinctions of karma are only explained in rough outline.

Thus does this one, in merging these twelve karmas together in the round of karma, grasp the dependence of name and form by considering the round of karma and the round of its fruit.

He who, by thus considering the round of karma and the round of fruit, grasps the dependent manner of existence of name and form, reaches the insight: "As name and form have in the present time a dependent manner of existence by means of a round of karma and a round of fruit, so also had they in past time, and so will they have in the future."

Thus does he have karma and fruit, a round of karma and a round of fruit, karma's manner of existing and the fruit's manner of existing, the karma-series and the fruit-series, action and the effect of action. And he attains to the insight:

"A round of karma and of fruit;
The fruit from karma doth arise,
From karma then rebirth doth spring;
And thus the world rolls on and on."

When he has attained this insight, the sixteen above-mentioned doubts concerning the past, present, and future, "Did I exist?" etc., are all abandoned. And it becomes evident to him that it is merely name and form which passes through the various modes, classes, stages, grades, and forms

of existence by means of a connection of cause and effect. He sees that behind the action there is no actor, and that, although actions bear their fruit, there is no one that experiences that fruit. He then sees clearly, in the light of the highest knowledge, that when a cause is acting, or the fruit of an action ripens, it is merely by a conventional form of speech that the wise speak of an actor or of any one as experiencing the fruit of an action. Therefore have the ancients said,

"No doer is there does the deed,
Nor is there one who feels the fruit;
Constituent parts alone roll on;
This view alone is orthodox.

"And thus the deed, and thus the fruit
Roll on and on, each from its cause;
As of the round of tree and seed,
No one can tell when they began.

"Nor is the time to be perceived
In future births when they shall cease.
The heretics perceive not this,
And fail of mastery o'er themselves.

" 'An Ego,' say they, 'doth exist,
Eternal, or that soon will cease';
Thus two-and-sixty heresies
They 'mongst themselves discordant hold.

"Bound in the bonds of heresy,
By passion's flood they're borne along;
And borne along by passion's flood,
From misery find they no release.

"If once these facts he but perceive,
A priest whose faith on Buddha rests,
The subtile, deep, and self-devoid
Dependence then will penetrate.

"Not in its fruit is found the deed,
Nor in the deed finds one the fruit;
Of each the other is devoid,
Yet there's no fruit without the deed.

"Just as no store of fire is found
In jewel, cow-dung, or the sun,
Nor separate from these exists,
Yet short of fuel no fire is known;

"Even so we ne'er within the deed
Can retribution's fruit desery,
Nor yet in any place without;
Nor can in fruit the deed be found.

"Deeds separate from their fruits exist,
And fruits are separate from the deeds:
But consequent upon the deed
The fruit doth into being come.

"No god of heaven or Bráhmā-world
Doth cause the endless round of birth;
Constituent parts alone roll on,
From cause and from material sprung."

When he has thus grasped the dependence of name and form by considering the round of karma and the round of fruit, and has abandoned all questioning in the three divisions of time, he then understands the past, future, and present elements of being at death and at conception. This is exact determination. And he knows as follows:

Those groups which came into existence in the past existence in dependence on karma perished then and there. But in dependence on the karma of that existence other groups have come into being in this existence. Not a single element of being has come into this existence from a previous one. The groups which have come into being in this existence in dependence on karma will perish, and others will come into being in the next existence, but not a single element of being will go from this existence into the next. Moreover, just as the words of the teacher do not pass over into the mouth of the pupil who nevertheless repeats them; and just as holy water drunk by the messenger sent for the purpose does not pass into the belly of the sick man and nevertheless in dependence on this water is the sickness allayed; and just as the features of the face do not pass to the reflection in mirrors and the like and nevertheless in dependence on them does the image appear; and just as the flame does not pass over from the wick of one lamp to that of another and nevertheless the flame of the second lamp exists in dependence on that of the former: in exactly the same way not a single

element of being passes over from a previous existence into the present existence, nor hence into the next existence; and yet in dependence on the groups, organs of sense, objects of sense, and sense-consciousnesses of the last existence were born those of this one, and from the present groups, organs of sense, objects of sense, and sense-consciousnesses will be born the groups, organs of sense, objects of sense, and sense-consciousnesses of the next existence.

Just as, indeed, eye-consciousness
Doth follow on mentality,
Yet cometh not from out the same,
Nor yet doth fail to come to be;

So, when conception comes to pass,
The thoughts a constant series form;
The last thought of the old birth dies,
The first thought of the new springs up.

No interval is 'twixt them found,
No stop or break to them is known;
There's naught that passes on from hence,
And yet conception comes to pass.

When he thus understands the elements at death and at conception, and the knowledge gained by grasping the dependence of name and form has become thoroughly established, then the sixteen doubts are still more completely abandoned. And not merely they, but also the eight doubts concerning The Teacher, etc., are abandoned, and the sixty-two heresies are estopped.

The knowledge thus gained by this manifold grasping of the dependence of name and form, and by the ensuing removal of doubt in the three divisions of time, is what should be understood by the phrase, "the purity ensuing on the removal of doubt." The knowledge of the continuance of the factors of being, the knowledge of the truth and correct insight, are synonyms of it.

For it has been said as follows:

"The knowledge of the continuance of the factors of being consists of the wisdom gained by grasping their dependence,

"Even so we ne'er within the deed
Can retribution's fruit desery,
Nor yet in any place without;
Nor can in fruit the deed be found.

"Deeds separate from their fruits exist,
And fruits are separate from the deeds:
But consequent upon the deed
The fruit doth into being come.

"No god of heaven or Bráhmā-world
Doth cause the endless round of birth;
Constituent parts alone roll on,
From cause and from material sprung."

When he has thus grasped the dependence of name and form by considering the round of karma and the round of fruit, and has abandoned all questioning in the three divisions of time, he then understands the past, future, and present elements of being at death and at conception. This is exact determination. And he knows as follows:

Those groups which came into existence in the past existence in dependence on karma perished then and there. But in dependence on the karma of that existence other groups have come into being in this existence. Not a single element of being has come into this existence from a previous one. The groups which have come into being in this existence in dependence on karma will perish, and others will come into being in the next existence, but not a single element of being will go from this existence into the next. Moreover, just as the words of the teacher do not pass over into the mouth of the pupil who nevertheless repeats them; and just as holy water drunk by the messenger sent for the purpose does not pass into the belly of the sick man and nevertheless in dependence on this water is the sickness allayed; and just as the features of the face do not pass to the reflection in mirrors and the like and nevertheless in dependence on them does the image appear; and just as the flame does not pass over from the wick of one lamp to that of another and nevertheless the flame of the second lamp exists in dependence on that of the former: in exactly the same way not a single

element of being passes over from a previous existence into the present existence, nor hence into the next existence; and yet in dependence on the groups, organs of sense, objects of sense, and sense-consciousnesses of the last existence were born those of this one, and from the present groups, organs of sense, objects of sense, and sense-consciousnesses will be born the groups, organs of sense, objects of sense, and sense-consciousnesses of the next existence.

Just as, indeed, eye-consciousness
Doth follow on mentality,
Yet cometh not from out the same,
Nor yet doth fail to come to be;

So, when conception comes to pass,
The thoughts a constant series form;
The last thought of the old birth dies,
The first thought of the new springs up.

No interval is 'twixt them found,
No stop or break to them is known;
There's naught that passes on from hence,
And yet conception comes to pass.

When he thus understands the elements at death and at conception, and the knowledge gained by grasping the dependence of name and form has become thoroughly established, then the sixteen doubts are still more completely abandoned. And not merely they, but also the eight doubts concerning The Teacher, etc., are abandoned, and the sixty-two heresies are estopped.

The knowledge thus gained by this manifold grasping of the dependence of name and form, and by the ensuing removal of doubt in the three divisions of time, is what should be understood by the phrase, "the purity ensuing on the removal of doubt." The knowledge of the continuance of the factors of being, the knowledge of the truth and correct insight, are synonyms of it.

For it has been said as follows:

"The knowledge of the continuance of the factors of being consists of the wisdom gained by grasping their dependence,

as, for example, 'On ignorance depends karma, in dependence has it originated. Both of these factors of being have originated by dependence.' "

In considering the factors of being in the light of their transitoriness, what is the knowledge of truth thus achieved? wherein consists correct insight? how does it become plain that all the constituents of being are transitory? where is doubt abandoned?

In considering the factors of being in the light of their misery, . . . in considering the factors of being in the light of their lack of an Ego, . . . where is doubt abandoned?

In considering the factors of being in the light of their transitoriness is achieved the knowledge of the truth of causes; in this knowledge lies what is called correct insight; as the result of this knowledge it becomes plain that all the constituents of being are transitory; here is where doubt is abandoned.

In considering the factors of being in the light of their misery is achieved the knowledge of the truth of what exists; in this knowledge lies what is called correct insight; as the result of this knowledge it becomes plain that all the constituents of being are misery; here is where doubt is abandoned.

In considering the factors of being in the light of their lack of an Ego is achieved the knowledge of the truth both of the causes of existence and of existence; in this knowledge lies what is called correct insight; as the result of this knowledge it becomes plain that all the constituents of being are wanting in an Ego; here is where doubt is abandoned.

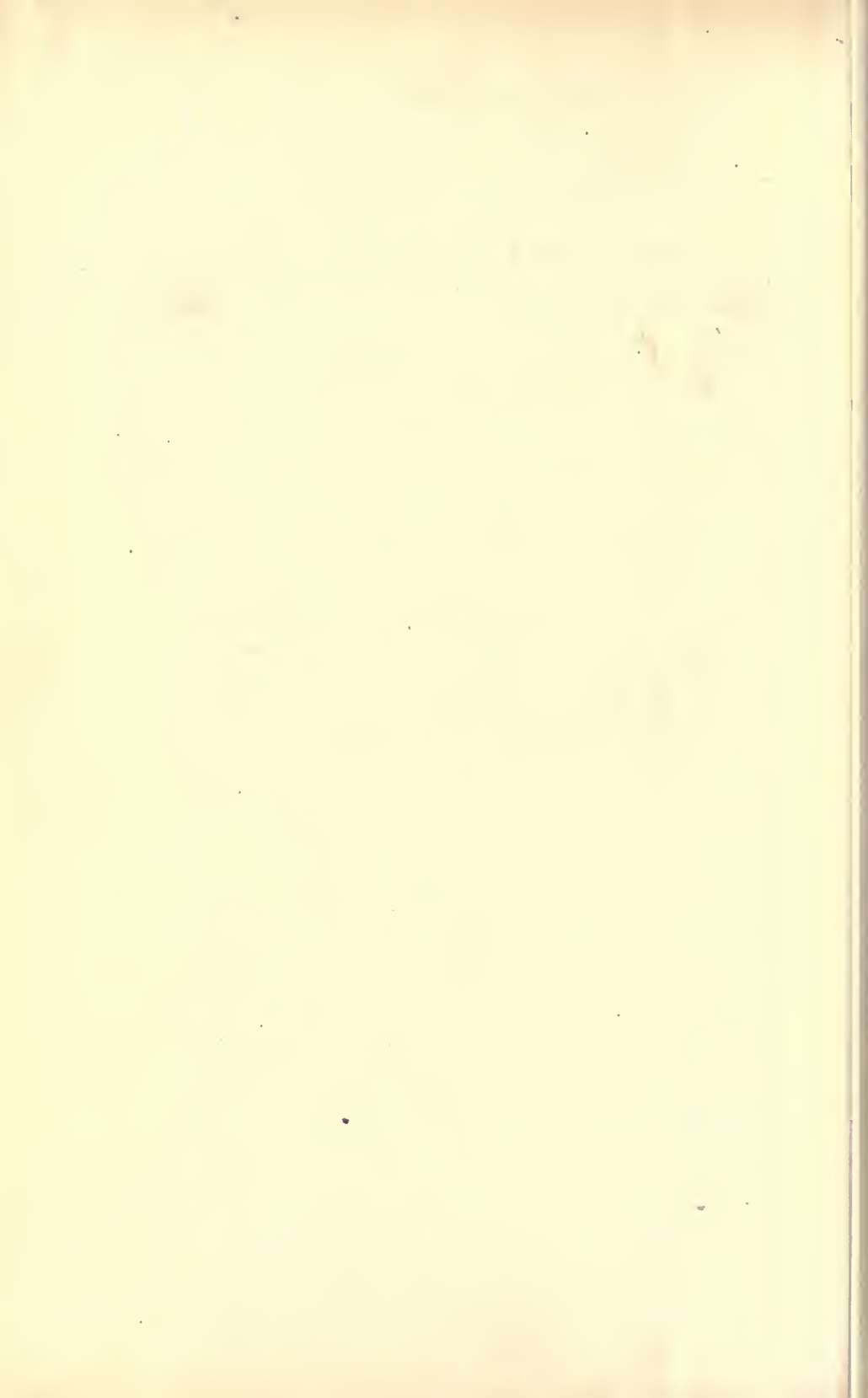
Now do the various expressions, "knowledge of the truth," "correct insight," and "removal of doubt," designate various truths, or are they various expressions for one truth? Knowledge of the truth, correct insight, and removal of doubt are various expressions for one truth.

Now the man of insight, having by this knowledge obtained confidence in the dispensation of the Buddha, and a footing in it, and having his destiny established, is called newly converted.

Therefore should ay a mindful priest,
Who may desire his doubts removed,
Search everywhere that he may grasp
On what his name and form depend.

Thus says the "Way of Purity," composed for the delectation of good people, and in the section on the development of wisdom.

END OF THE WAY OF PURITY



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